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INTENSIVES AND REFLEXIVES IN ANGLO-SAXON AND EARLY MIDDLE-ENGLISH

DISSERTATION

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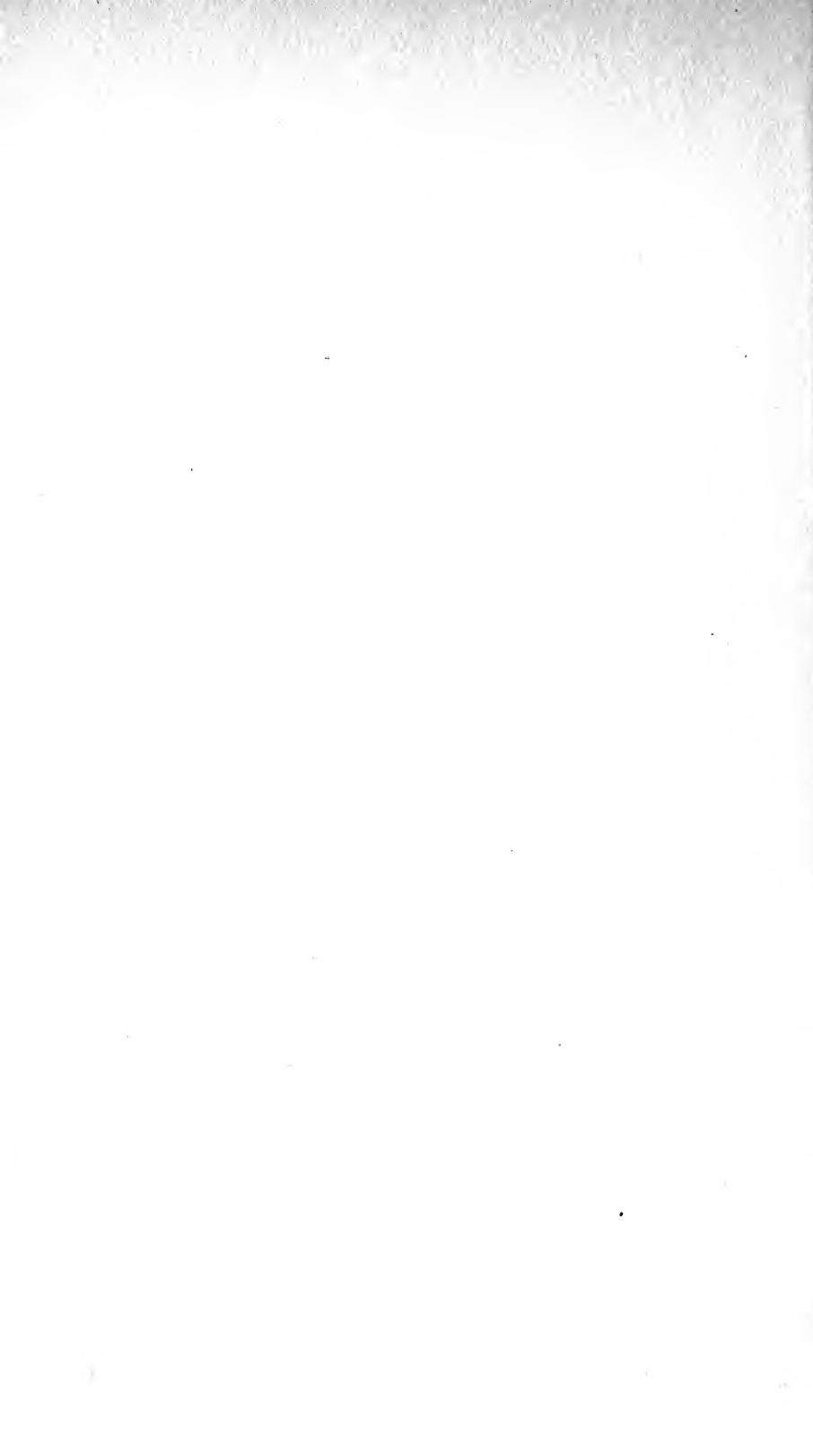


THIS STUDY IS DEDICATED
TO
DR. JAMES W. BRIGHT
AT WHOSE SUGGESTION IT WAS BEGUN,
UNDER WHOSE INSPIRATION IT WAS ACCOMPLISHED,
BY WHOSE GENEROUS AID IN
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INTENSIVES AND REFLEXIVES IN ANGLO-SAXON AND EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH.

INTRODUCTION.

The present study embraces two periods of the English language—the Anglo-Saxon and the Early Middle English. The fact to remember concerning the Anglo-Saxon form of the language is that it is highly inflected. This period closes about 1050 A. D. and embraces three groups of texts—the poetry which represents both a freer and a more archaic form; the prose which is grouped around Alfred and represents the classical West-Saxon of the ninth century; and the prose which has Ælfric as its centre and is dated in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Between this and the succeeding period come a few texts, mostly transcripts of Anglo-Saxon mss., which exhibit no change in construction or form but a decided weakening in inflectional endings. The second period includes the texts falling between the dates 1150 and 1250. It is characterized by a further weakening and confusion of inflectional endings and a consequent increase in the importance of position to show relationship, while the Dative case has become the objective pronominal form in all persons and numbers. In our study an intermediate stage of development is represented by the first series of Homilies and the A-text of Layamon's Brut while the remainder give largely the conditions which hold for Middle English.

The texts consulted, with the abbreviations used in reference, are:

Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie. Grein-Wülker (3 vols.). For the longer poems the usual abbreviations have been used, Beo. = Beowulf, Gen. = Genesis, etc.; for the shorter ones, I give the reference to the volume, number of selection and line: Gr. (II 2/3) 37 = vol. II, second part, selection 3, line 37.

King Alfred's Version of Boethius. Sedgefield, Oxford, 1899 = *Bo.*

King Alfred's Orosius. Sweet, EETS. 79, 1883 = *Or.*

King Alfred's Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care. Sweet, EETS. 45 and 50 = *PC.*

Old Eng. Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. Miller, EETS. = *EcH.*

Liber Psalmorum. Thorpe, Oxford, 1835 = *Ps.*

The Blickling Homilies of the 10th Century. Morris, EETS. 58, 63, 73 = *BlH.*

Die Ags. Prosabearbeitung der Benediktinerregel. Schröer, Kassel, 1885 = *BR.*

The Homilies of the A.-S. Church. Thorpe. 2 vols. London, 1844, 1846 = *AefH.*

Alfric's Lives of Saints. Skeat, EETS. 76, 82 = *AlfL.*

Aelfrik de vetero et novo Testamento. Grein, Cassel, 1872 = *AefB. Gen. Ex., etc.*

Alfric's Grammatik. Zupitza, Berlin, 1880 = *AlfGr.*

The Gospels in A. S. and Northumbrian Versions Synoptically arranged. Skeat, Cambridge, 1871-1888 = *Gosp. Mt. Mk., etc.*

Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien. Napier, Berlin, 1883 = *WuH.*

The Oldest English Texts. Sweet, EETS. 83 = *Char. VesPa., etc.*

The Whitney version of Rule of S. Benet. Schröer, 1888 = *WV.*

The Rule of St. Benet. Logeman, London, 1888 = *WP.*

Sermo in Festis Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis. Jena Diss., H. A. Vance, Darmstadt, 1894.

Old English Homilies. Morris, EETS. 29 and 53 = *Hom. I & II.*

Layamon's Brut (3 vols.) = *L.*

The Ormulum (2 vols.). White, Holt, Oxford, 1878 = *O.*

Life of Saint Katherine. Eickenel, EETS. 80 = *StK.*

Life of Saint Juliana. Cockagne, EETS. 51 = *StJ.*

Life of Saint Marherete. Cockagne, EETS. 13 = *StM.*

Hali Maidenhad. Cockagne, EETS. 18 = *HM.*

The Anceren Riwle. Morton, Camden Soc. Pub., London, 1853 = *AR.*

Vices and Virtues. Halthausen, EETS. 89 = *VV*.

An Old English Miscellany. Morris, EETS. 49 = *OEM*.

Genesis and Exodus. Morris, EETS. 7 = *G&E*.

One of the difficult problems which confront the English grammarians is the history of the forms *myself*, *thyself*, *himself*, *herself*, *itself*, *ourselves*, *yourselves*, *themselves*—in their three-fold function of reflexive, emphatic, and personal pronouns, and of intensifier of nouns and pronouns. The development of these forms from the earlier stages of the language has given rise to various theories, and the present study was undertaken primarily as an investigation of this problem from a more minute examination of the Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English literatures than has hitherto been attempted. As related questions of interest arose, the collection of examples was extended to all occurrences of reflexive pronouns and of *self*. The results have expanded the study into what is intended as a complete statement of the usage of the simple reflexive, of the definite and emphatic adjective *self*, and of the compound reflexive as regards construction, form, and word-order. To this has been added a chapter on the origin of forms and their status at the end of the period, and a few remarks on the relation between the simple and compound reflexives which has resulted in the final overthrow of the simple form as the regular reflexive and the establishment of the compound form. The study is based upon what I have attempted to make a complete collection of all occurrences in the texts read, and where it is deemed of sufficient interest full reference-lists are given. In so large a body of literature and in so extensive a collection, such an effort must necessarily suffer from some omissions and misinterpretations, but it is hoped that these are not serious enough to vitiate the conclusions reached.

Especial attention is called to the treatment of the pleonastic reflexive Dative, where it is hoped a more accurate determination of the usage of this construction is given; of the usage in Anglo-Saxon of *self* as intensifier of a pronoun in the Nom. sg., which has not previously received accurate statement; and of the reflexive Dative and the Nom. *self*, where an attempt has been made to

settle definitely the controversy over the significance of the combination.

The problem of the origin of the Modern English compound forms may be briefly stated with the solutions hitherto offered. The Masc. sg. of the third person, *himself*, is used as typical of the first complication. In Anglo-Saxon *self* is used as an emphatic adjective modifier of a reflexive pronoun, of a personal pronoun, and of a noun. (1) he cweade *hine selfne*. (2) *he self* dyde hit, *he hit self* dyde; ic seah his wif and *hine selfne*. (3) God *self* sægde þæt, he seah *God selfne*. In Modern English *himself* is a reflexive pronoun, an emphatic personal pronoun, and an intensifier of the personal pronoun and the noun, (1) he killed *himself*. (2) His son and *himself* are here. I saw his son and *himself*. (3) he *himself* did it. God *himself* said that: Did you see him or his secretary? I saw him *himself*. Moses saw God *himself*. (1) and (2) are readily explained as the hardening of the pronoun and adjective to a close compound in the dominant Dative form with the loss of inflectional ending. The difficulty is with (3), for we should expect here the persistence of the adjective *self*. Under what conditions did the compound arise and what is the origin of its first element? The second complication is caused by the first element in the forms of the first and second persons singular and plural, *my-*, *thy-*, *our-*, *your-* which occur in all three of the uses of the compound. What is the origin of these possessive forms and the cause of differentiation? Further complications are seen in the form *it-* self and in the *-es* termination of the plurals.

Various answers to these questions have been given by the Grammarians. Grimm (*Gram.*, IV, 360 f., ed. 1837) explains the forms of the first and second person as survivals of the Anglo-Saxon emphatic Genitives *min selfes*, *þin selfes* with the weakening of *min*, *þin* to *my-*, *thy-* as in the possessive. He further sees in the *-es* termination of the plural a survival of the original Gen. singular termination which has been transferred to the plural. The third person Masc. sg. has preserved the Dative form under the combined influence of its preponderating frequency of occurrence and of the French *luimeme*. *Itself* may represent either the Nom. or Acc., and *herself* the Gen. or Dat.

A second view, held by Koch (*Gram.*, I, 470 f., II, 255 f.), is that the compound form of the oblique cases was extended by analogy to the Nom., *i. e.*, that *he self* under the influence of *him selfum* became *he him self*. This has already happened in Anglo-Saxon in such expressions as—he com *him sylf* to eow. The possessive forms result from the substantival use of *self*.

Mätzner (*Gram.*, I, 308 f., II, 67 f.) holds a third view, advanced in its complete form probably by Penning (*A History of the Reflective Pronouns in the English Language*, Doctor diss. Leipzig, 1875¹). This view accepts the substantival use of *self* to account for the possessive forms; but considers the Dative forms of the third person as a result of the hardening of the construction, the reflexive Dative and the Nominative *self* (he com *him self* to eow) into a compound Nom., caused by the loss of the feeling for the reflexive Dative with certain verbs. This explanation has been generally accepted by writers on the subject. Difference of opinion exists as to the time of the formation of the compound. Rask (*A-S. Gram.*, § 169, Trans. by Thorpe, London, 1865) saw only the compound in Anglo-Saxon, and does not seem to have connected it with the reflexive Dative construction. Wülfig (*Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, vol. I, 353 f.) admits the reflexive Dative in certain examples, but denies it in others. Schrader (*Studien zur Aelfrieschen Syntax*, p. 60 f., Göttingen, Doctor diss., Jena, 1887) thinks that *perhaps* traces of the compound may be found in Alfric. Voges (*Anglia*, VI, 328) and Bock (*Die Syntax der Pronomia and Numeralia*, in König Alfred's *Orosius*, p. 16 f., Göttingen, Doctor diss., 1887) deny the compound wholly in Anglo-Saxon. Einenkel (*Paul's Grundriss*, I, 925), Morris (*Historical Outlines of English Accidence*, p. 162), Kellner (*Historic Outlines of English Syntax*, § 292 f.), and Sweet (*New English Grammar*, § 1104 f.) accept the view without committing themselves as to the date of its establishment.

Kellner (§ 296) adds a third view as to the possessive forms, suggesting "that this construction was brought into existence by

¹ This dissertation could not be procured. It is mentioned by Voges, *Anglia*, VI, and Wülfig, *Alfred's Syntax*, I, 356.

some change in the pronunciation of the *-e-* in *me self, the self*, so that it was confounded with the *-i-* in *my self, thy self*."

Each of these theories is open to serious, if not fatal, objections in light of the facts considered below. The derivations of the possessive forms from the Ags. emphatic Gen. *min selfes*, etc., is rendered improbable by the fact that this construction, while tolerably frequent in the poetry, is very rare in the prose, a construction, dying out in favor of *agen*. The evidence for the substantival use of *self* is slight, even if any exists. The change in the pronunciation of the *-e-* in *me self*, etc., is too vague to be seriously considered. Further, every theory which fails to explain the differentiation between the forms of the first and second person, and those of the third and which fails to take into consideration the facts that the *mi-*, *þi-* forms exist for over a century before the possessive forms arise in their plurals, that they occur along with the *me-*, *þe-* forms during this time, and that they are excluded from certain texts, must be considered inadequate.

The theories for the Dative forms are also unacceptable. The forms occur in texts which show little or no French influence. They occur before the Dative has become the dominant objective pronominal form. They occur while the reflexive Dative is still an active construction in all the categories of verbs established for Ags., and further they show no tendency to originate with these classes of verbs. Finally, the facts that these forms do originate in the non-juxtaposed positions of the pronoun and *self* (*he hit self dide*) while the older form persists in the juxtaposed (*he self hit dide*), and that a parallel construction is found in *him one* (< Ags. *ana* = alone), must be taken into consideration.

The forms established for the end of the period considered here are *mi-*, *þi-*, *him-* (occasionally Neut. also), *Hir-*, *us-*, *you-*, *hem-* (them-), *self*, *selve*, *selven*. The view will be advanced below that the first step in the formation of the compound was the establishment of the Dative form for all persons. It arose in the non-juxtaposed positions of the Nom. *self* under the combined influences of the juxtaposed positions of the Nom. and oblique cases, and of the weakening of inflectional ending and the consequent necessity for position to determine relation. The Dative form was added as

a disjunctive pronominal reinforcement, an office which it seems to fill elsewhere. The *mi-*, *þi-* forms are originally Datives and the *-i-* is used as the orthographic means of indicating the pronunciation of *me* and *þe-* in unaccented syllables (*mæself*), parallel to the spelling *bifore* (before), *biþench* (beþench), etc. This began in the Nom. where *me-*, *þe-* were disjunctive repetitions of an already expressed pronoun. It was extended to the oblique cases and then, from its similarity in sound, became identified with the unaccented possessive, especially in expressions like "I saved my goods and myself."

The changes after 1250 are simpler. The possessive forms of the first and second persons singular are extended to their plurals. The Dative persists in the third person Masc. and fem. sg. and the plural. *Itself* does not occur in Early Mid. Eng., but is a new formation where *it-* is an added objective pronoun, analogous to *him-*, *her-*, *them-*, now felt as the objective case. *Selves* is made according to the noun declension from its substantial use with possessives.

CHAPTER I.

ANGLO-SAXON PROSE AND POETRY.

1. The Simple Reflexive. The personal pronouns of all persons and numbers are used in the oblique cases to refer to the subject of the clause in which they stand. They are the regular reflexive pronouns of the language, the personal and reflexive forms being always the same and the determination of their character depending wholly upon the context. That the Teutonic reflexive of the third person (Goth. *seine, sis, sik*) once existed, may be inferred by the poetic survival of the reflexive possessive *sin*. Its loss was due, no doubt, to the extension of the reflexive use of the third personal pronoun in accordance with the first and second persons in which the personal and reflexive pronouns were already identical.

(a) *The reflexive Genitive.* The reflexive possessive of all persons does not differ from the personal in form or use in the prose. The poetry preserves the reflexive possessive of the third person *sin*. Like *min, þin* it agrees with its noun in gender, number, and case and is declined like the strong adjective. It does not occur in the prose and is evidently a poetic archaism.

As object of a verb, the reflexive Genitive is very rare, occurring only with: *mipan* PC. 22/11; *scamian* PC. 407/15, 409/33, Ps. 34/24, 39/16; *tilian* PC. 132/8, Bo. 67/11, AlfL. 19/172.

(b) *The reflexive Dative.* Some verbs and adjectives govern a Refl. Dat. which is necessary to the sense; certain categories of verbs may take a Refl. Dat. which is pleonastic; several prepositions govern a Refl. Dat. in certain collocations.

(1) The necessary Refl. Dat. occurs (a) as indirect object or Dat. of separation with the verbs: *andwyrðan* AlfL. 33/54; *aswapan* Rid. 24/5; *bebeorgan* Beo. 1147, 1759; *beorgan* EcH. 128/9, AlfH. i 416/17, ii 310/6, AlfL. 25/658, WuH. 40/3/13, 94/11, 134/22, 135/26, 141/26, 144/25, 145/17, 167/7, 178/6, 290/24/29, 300/12, Gen. 2691, Cr. 771, Guth. 781, Gr. II²/7) 63; *deman*

AlfL. 17/86 ; gefæstnian Or. 244/22 ; geleogan Gr. II²/1) 4/56 ; gelician WuH. 229/4, AlfGr. 96/9 ; geliefan BlH. 65/10 ; ofdon BR. 103/1 ; ofteon PC. 26/16 ; seieldan EcH. 460/25, WuH. 54/19, 102/15 (also used with acc.) ; þingian WuH. 250/16 ; war-nian EcH. 58/20, 128/9, 132/13 (also used with acc.). (b) and with the adjectives : besorg Bo. 22/2 ; deorwierþe Bo. 25/20 ; gehende WuH. 75/8, 179/16 ; gehiersum Bo. 10/3 ; hold EcH. 194/21 ; leof BR. 19/15 ; gelic PC. 106/15, 348/21, AlfL. 1/45 ; getreowe Bo. 16/16, EcH. 194/19.

(2) The pleonastic Refl. Dat. has been cursorily noticed by the grammarians from Hicks, who mentions it as an Ags. construction with verbs of motion and *ondraedan*, to the modern writers, who see its survival in such expressions as "he built *him* a house." Bock (see Introd., p. 5) attempts a classification of the verbs with which it occurs in the Orosius and calls attention to its special use with prepositional phrases. A special study of it for all periods of the language is made by F. Voges in *Anglia*, VI, 317-374. He there distinguishes two pleonastic Datives, the ethical and the reflexive. The former is used only in the first and second persons and does not refer to the subject of its clause. 'Cut *me* Orsino's throat' ; the latter may be used in any person and refers to the subject of the clause "he took *him* another." Both occur only in familiar or comic styles. The verbs with which the Refl. Dat. occurs are classified as verbs of 'bodily quiet,' 'bodily activity,' 'mental activity,' miscellaneous.

For Ags. it may be said that the Refl. Dat. with verbs of motion is especially characteristic of the poetry, but otherwise the construction occurs freely in all the monuments. In the later language it survives with certain verbs as a lively colloquialism.

The verbs with which the Refl. Dat. occurs fall into three classes : (a) verbs whose activity contains an idea of construction or of possession ; (b) verbs which express the transitive or intransitive exercise of a bodily or mental function ; (c) verbs which express an intransitive state of bodily motion or quiescence. The Dative function differs slightly in construction with the three classes of verbs. With the first, it is a *Dative of interest*, denoting that the activity of the verb is exerted for the benefit of the sub-

ject (*þæt hi him wæpno worhton*, EcH. 44/34). With the second and third, it denotes merely the subjective relation of the verbal idea to its subject, and forms with the verb a species of medial voice (and can *him* gescead betwux soð and leas, WuH. 58/1; *þa him* hamweard for, Chron. 68/29).

The Refl. Dat. is also used with certain prepositional phrases which express the object towards which the verbal activity is directed (*nim þe wif*, accipe *tibi* uxorem, Gen. 27. 2; but *nym þe on hand þa girde-virgam . . . tollis in manu sua*, Ex. 7/15). The Refl. Dat. is more closely united in sense and position to the prepositional phrase than to the verb. It translates a Latin reflexive possessive and partakes of both the Refl. Dat. and possessive senses. It occurs usually with verbs which take a Refl. Dat. but is extended to other verbs with similar prepositional phrases. It is probably a specialized use of the Refl. Dat. by the absorption of the possessive of the prepositional phrase, still rarely found (*hi . . . him wæter on heora exlum gefetton*, AlfH. ii, 562/3).

(*a*¹) Any verb of constructing, preparing, or transforming anything may take a Refl. Dat. (and *worhton him hocas*, EcH. 46/18). *geæðelian* Gr. II² 11/3) 3/64, *afeormian* WuH. 246/3; *aræran* AlfH. ii, 472/24, 504/20, 506/14, AlfL. 4/83, 6/119, Ex. 319; *bacan* WuH. 212/26; *bytlian* Gen. 1880; *gedælan* Ps. 21/16; *don* (= make) PC. 427/15, EcH. 212/32, BIH. 51/2, Beo. 2349; *geeacnian* AlfL. 12/269, *gegearwian* EcH. 348/12, Beo. 198; *geotan* AlfB. Ex. 32/8, Deut. 9/12; *gehælan* BIH. 89/3; *hladan* PC. 469/7, *plantian* Gosp. MK. 12/1, L. 20/9; *getimbrian* EcH. 212/1, 282/12, BR. 136/12, AlfB. Gen. 11/4, Guth. 221; *todælan* Gosp. Mt. 27/35, J. 19/24, VesPs. 21/19; *trymian* VesPs. 63/6, 79/18; *writan* AlfB. Deut. 31/19; *wudian* WuH. 220/-11/15; (*ge*)*wyrcean* EcH. 44/34, 46/3/9/18, 140/24, Chron. 88/36, 142/2, BIH. 41/6, AlfH. i, 20/31, 22/28, 464/33, AlfL. 25/300, AlfB. Gen. 2/7, 6/14, 11/3, Ex. 20/4, 32/19/23/31, 34/1/17, Liv. 26/1, Deut. 4/16, 9/16, 10/1, Josh. 5/2, WuH. 105/9, Gosp. L. 16/9, Beo. 1491, Gr. 1/12, 1/17, II¹ 1/5, 31, 65, Gen. 273, 726, 1663, Guth. 271, Ph. 451.

(*a*²) Any verb of having, obtaining, attempting to obtain, or

desiring to obtain, *possession* of anything, may take a Refl. Dat. (and hæfde *him* þone anweald, Or. 274/14). abiddan EcH. 392/32, Chron. 3/15, BIH. 65/7; afindan AlfH. i, 544/7, AlfL. 16/58, 18/31; (ge)agnian PC. 24/11, 334/13, Or. 224/4/20, 284/30, Bo. 30/28, Chron. 163/14, EcH. 28/6, BIH. 105/10, AlfH. i, 468/8, ii, 102/29, 104/3, 344/5, 544/4, AlfB. Num. 13/31, WuH. 251/2, 259/15, Gen. 422, 1829, 2142, 2702, Cr&S. 86, 118, 174, 253, Rid. 93/13; aræcan AlfL. 5/138; ascian AlfGr. 168/13; gebedian EcH. 408/29; begietan Chron. 188/23, BIH. 29/1, AlfH. 168/4, ii, 95/25, AlfL. 8/8, 21/159, 30/85/214, WuH. 301/18; bicnian AlfL. 25/635, (ge) biddan Or. 242/15, EcH. 6/29, 8/3, 44/12/24, 54/11, 180/9, 384/18; BIH. 19/29, 77/16, 213/33, 223/12, AlfL. 6/218, 30/424, WuH. 240/10, 290/21, Gr. 1/7)1, II¹ /3/83; biegan Bo. 133/28, AlfH. i, 64/12/13, ii, 570/14/21, AlfL. 12/123, 23b/491, AlfB. Gen. 42/8, Gosp. Mt. 14/15, 25/9, MK. 6/36, L. 9/13, 22/36, J. 4/8; bigietan Cr. 1690; bringan Gen. 1720; brucan Gr. II² /6)78; ceapian EcH. 354/25, AlfH. i, 204/9, Gr. II² /7)34; ge) ceosan Or. 3/9, 44/21, 56/29, 116/5, Bo. 66/28, EcH. 230/17, 410/3, Chron. 234/3, BIH. 23/25, AlfH. i, 24/20, ii, 360/21, 494/30, 528/24, AlfL. 7/117, 10/274, 13/7/243, 18/46, 25/399, 30/317, AlfB. Gen. 13/2, 41/33, Jud. prol. 12, 15, Ex. 14/2, 17/9, Deut. 1/13, 18/15, Num. 13/3, WuH. 17/10, VesPs. 32/12, 46/5, 131/13, 134/4, Beo. 1760, Gr. 1/15)47, 1/17)111 B/3, Andr. 404, Gr. 11-2/6)66, Gen. 1051, 1250, 1803, 1927, 2722, Cr&S. 204, Guth. 853, Gr. 111-1/5)87; geearnian PC. 246/12, BIH. 97/4, 101/26, 111/3, 113/32, AlfL. 13/293, 30/216, WuH. 20/3, 112/14, 113/7, 115/15, 144/26, 150/12, 152/4, 167/8, 225/30, Gr. 11-1/5)168, Gen. 2281; gefeohtan AlfB. Jud. 7/2; fetian AlfH. i, 502/3; findan AlfL. 23b/517, 29/143, Gosp. L. 9/12, Gr. 1/10)18, 11-2/10)99; fon Or. 114/20, 262/9, 272/28, 284/18; gadrian AlfGr. 96/8; giernan Guth. 228, 291; gold hordian Gosp. Mt. 6/19/20; habban PC. 370/6, Or. 152/24, 274/14, 282/12, Bo. 24/8, 112/25, BIH. 107/14, AlfH. i, 592/6, 606/15, ii, 184/32, 224/12, 312/18, 388/25, 490/15, AlfL. 3/332, 13/318, 18/189/202, 23b/491, AlfB. Gen. 33/9, Ex. 21/26, Deut. 11/14, Jud. 13/3, epil. 263/16, AlfGr. 105/4, WuH. 112/12, 122/4, 137/20, 151/9,

176/27, 191/18, 258/18, 272/22, 306/8, Gosp. Mt. 21/38, VesPs. 83/13, AL. 22, 23², Gr. 1/7)31, 1/12)7/27, 1/14)3/169/172/183, 1/17)A/17, 11-2/1)4/69, Gen. 543, 2128, Dan. 197, Cr&S. 82, Rid. 32/15; healdan Cr. 1680; gemnian AlfH. i, 548/1; gemetan BlH. 7/18, VesPs. 83/4; nemnan (= claim) Gosp. Mt. 23/9; neotan Gen. 235, 401; niman PC. 160/7/11, 391/30, 405/11, 162/22, Or. 44/27, EcH. 168/19, Chron. 133/20, 143/4, 159/11, 183/22. 184/3, BR. 65/3, 91/8, 121/20, AlfH. ii, 356/6, 414/11, 456/28, AlfL. 24/29, AlfB. Gen. 6/2, 27/2, Josh. 9/5, Job. 16/42, AlfGr. 10/2, Gr. 1/15)24, WuH. 105/12, 174/9; onfon Gosp. L. 19/12, geræcan AlfL. 23/670; gereafian (intrans. but = take booty) VesPs. 43/11; secan PC. 465/28, Bo. 89/8, EcH. 46/17, 242/5, 304/8, 366/13, 468/10, 478/20, AlfH. ii, 158/27, 356/27, VesPs. 103/31, Gr. 1/71)114, 11-1/5)133, Gen. 1843, 1912, Jul. 170; sellan (wið feo, the idea of obtaining money is present) Or. 126/16, 152/8, 230/8; gesettan Or. 4/27, 70/1, 88/18, AlfL. 23/216, AlfB. Gen. 19/20, Num. 14/4, VesPs. 87/9; sinnan Guth. 290; gestrienan AlfL. 7/327, Ph. 391; tellan Beo. 1773; tilian AlfH. i, 334/27, ii, 288/18, 462/11, WuH. 296/7, Gen. 1557; underðiedan PC. 417/24/27, Or. 112/7, Chron. 222/14; wegan Gr. 1/12)8/6; Guth. 31; gewifian (intr. = take a wife) AlfB. Jud. 116/6; wilnian PC. 457/21, EcH. 204/29, 404/19, Cr. 773, Guth. 261; wenan Or. 154/22, 218/18, 268/12, Bo. 54/16, 108/13, 134/30, EcH. 200/15, 384/22, BR. 17/22, AlfH. i, 554/30, ii, 372/16, AlfL. 23/576, WuH. 191/22, 270/20, Beo. 933, Gr. 11-1/5)135, Ele. 668, Cr&S. 49, Cr. 789, Jul. 452, Rid. 21/17.

(β¹) There are a few occurrences of the Refl. Dat. with verbs of drinking, eating, seeing: behealdan BlH. 241/9; drincan PC. 120/13, AlfL. 13/85; etan PC. 120/13, Chron. 135/20, BR. 63/3, AlfH. ii, 38/8; geseon EcH. 438/19, BlH. 241/9, AlfL. 23b/167, Gen. 2926 —; gelan Gr. 11-1/5)67 and sweran Beo. 2739 (conceived of as verbs of speaking?).

(β²) The Refl. Dat. occurs occasionally with verbs of knowing and feeling, and with *ondrædan*: can Chron. 260/9, WuH. 51/28, 58/1, Beo. 2063, Gr. 1/14)3/170, Andr. 195; foresceawian AlfH. ii, 64/7; geliefan Gr. 1/2)b/27, Beo. 910, 1273, Gen. 401, Cr&S.

291; *nytan* WuH. 151/16, 241/16, Ps. 39/14, 48/18, *onsnawan* Andr. 630; *gerædan* WuH. 51/19, 57/15; *teohhian* Andr. 1320; *wat* WuH. 147/26, Beo. 822, Gr. 1/14)3/146, Gen. 445, Ex. 409, Cr. 1244, Ph. 369, Gr. 111/6)46/47, Rid. 36/3; *onemnprowian* AlfL. 23b/243; *geortruwian* Bo. 14/22; *wanian* Or. 166/20, 244/4; *forhtian* WuH. 138/21, EcH. 128/25; *onsittan* AlfL. 23/493/730, Guth. 1042, Rid. 16/22; *ondrædan* (there are 241 occurrences of the Refl. Dat. with this verb and very few examples without it).

(γ^1) Any verb of motion may take a Refl. Dat. (and *cyrde him eft* to Lundene, Chron. 153/19). *cierran* Chron. 153/19, 182/4, AlfH. ii, 518/30; *creopan* AlfL. 21/101; *faran* Bo. 18/14, Chron. 68/29, BR. 99/1, AlfH. i, 126/21, 128/14, 132/21, ii, 416/30, AlfL. 22/227, AlfB. Gen. 12/19, 19/15, Deut. 24/11, Josh. 2/16/18, Gen. 543; *feran* Bo. 105/10, Or. 74/32, EcH. 184/20, 194/17, Chron. 137/16, 142/9, 153/11,, 182/15, 187/13, 209/16, 266/15, AlfL. 3/36, AlfB. Gen. 22/19, Gr. 1/12)7/25, 111/8,) 102; *feallan* Gen. 2001; *fleogan* Bo. 105/8/9, AlfH. i, 142/9, AlfL. 29/174; *fundian* Gr. 111/8) 100; *gan* PC. 190/25, AlfH. i, 508/1, ii, 394/22, 418/1, AlfL. 7/198, 21/43, 25/230, AlfB. Ex. 21/11, Gosp. Mk. 5/34, Gr. 1/16) 40; *eode* PC. 309/14, Chron. 135/8, 140/17, AlfH. ii, 160/21, 354/19, AlfL. 12/71, 21/397, 23/133/489/545, 23b/500, 29/249; (*ge*)*gadrian* PC. 50/21, Chron. 205/16; *hwearfan* Or. 242/27, Gen. 240, 447, 762; *iernan* AlfL. 21/206, *losian* Beo. 2062; *ridan* Chron. 76/10, 132/19, AlfL. 19/210, 27/62, 31/63; *tredan* Beo. 1880; *pocerian* Bo. 105/1; *gewendan* Or. 138/9, 146/20, Chron. 140/21, 145/15, 151/7, 154/5/15, 171/6/8, 174/10, 177/40, 182/6, 183/3/7/11/12/15/24/26, 184/6, 185/3, AlfH. i, 128/8, 262/5, ii, 456/25, AlfL. 7/383, 21/192, 20/346, 25/439, 29/305, AlfB. Gen. 21/14, Num. 21/4, Jud. 3/24, Job. 16/2; *windan* Gen. 446, 491; *gewitan* Gr. 1/3)45, Beo. 26, 234, 301, 663, 1126, 1235, 1602, 1904, 2388, 2950, Gr. 1/10)9, 1/17/1/53, 3b/13, Andr. 118, 225, 235, 975, 1058, Judith 291, Gen. 858, 1049, 1356, 1649, 1730, 1767, 1779, 1793, 1816, 1920, 2018, 2045, 2083, 2098, 2166, 2397, 2574, 2591, 2620, 2884, Dan. 441, Cr. 533, Rid. 30/10; *lætan* (motion implied) Or. 17/10, Chron. 209/16.

(γ^2) A few verbs of bodily quiet together with *weorþan* and *wesan* occasionally take the Refl. Dat. (Sæton *him* æt wine, Dan. 696). *anbidian* AlfB. Gen. 22/5; *libban* Gr. 111/13)89; *liegan* Chron. 135/20, Gr. 1/16)318; *sittan* PC. 385/4, Bo. 104/33, AlfL. 6/160, 10/72, 28/88, Gr. 1/7/111, 11/2/6) 79, Dan. 696, Cr&S. 586; *standan* AlfL. 23/458, 23b/422, AlfB. Gen. 18/8, Andr. 1712, Gr. 11/1/5) 63; *gewunian* BlH. 199/8; *weorpan* Chron. 187/13, BlH. 89/2, WuH. 213/4; *wesan* PC. 385/10, Chron. 143/14, 185/4, AlfH. i, 142/10, 332/2, ii, 170/171, 482/28, AlfL. 16/243, 23/395, AlfB. Ex. 14/14, 21/2, Deut. 24/5, Gr. 11/1/5) 39, 162, 11/1/5) 86, Gen. 367.

The normal word-order of the Refl. Dat. is :

(1) Subject + *Refl. Dat.* + verb + object.

(2) Subject + verb + *Refl. Dat.* + object.

If the verb is in the imperative, the order is always *verb* + *Refl. Dat.*

The Refl. Dat. with prepositional phrases usually occurs with verbs of construction or possession, but is extended to similar phrases with other verbs. These phrases are of four types : (1) and *namon him on hand hira hearpan* (AlfB. Ex. 15/20); (2) and *asponan him to fultume Corinthum* (Or. 144/24); (3) *Crist geceas him mæden to meder* (AlfH. ii, 230/32); (4) *þone timan hi heoldan him to Eastertide* (AlfH. ii, 266/19). The Refl. Dat. usually precedes the phrase immediately though occasionally separated. The occurrences are:—*æt heortan*; *leegan* Gen. 636: *for* God, sunn; *habban* Or. 34/20, Beo. 1178; *freogan* B. 948; *weorþian* WuH. 98/24, 105/13: *in* breostum, ferhðe, æhte; *beran* Gr. 11 1/5) 118; *lætan* Gr. 1/15) 12, *gebiegan* EcH. 236/32: *of* breostum, handon, healse; *lætan* Gen. 2796, *fleogan* Gr. 1/16)7, don Beo. 2810: *on* bearm, bosme, handa, etc., *fultum*; *beran* EcH. 264/6, Gen. 636, *bestingan* AlfH. ii, 330/30, *gebreccan* Gen. 62, *brucan* AlfH. i, 100/32, *habban* EcH. 428/11, AlfH. ii, 26/12, 60/27, 264/7, 280/34, 416/35, 430/22, AlfL. 3/425, 15/206, 16/380, AlfB. Ex. 366, 32/15, Gr. 1/2)B/12, Beo. 2363, Gr.

1/12) 6/10, Andr. 507, Rid. 2/12, 20/4, 32/21, 80/6, hladan Beð. 2776, lætan Andr. 960, Gr. 111/14)125, mearcian AlfH. ii, 304/14, niman AlfL. 23b/660, AlfB. Ex. 7/15, 15/20, Gen. 518, Cr. 260; aspanan Or. 68/14, 90/7, 96/5, ciegan EcH. 50/14, laðian BlH. 201/31, spanan Or. 82/9, getcon Or. 106/3, 110/8, 112/2; *to* frofre, fultume etc., . . . cyninge, hlaforde, wife, meder, etc., . . many miscellaneous nouns under type four; abeodan Or. 80/31, aræran Guth. 150, aspanan Or. 144/24, 146/21, Chron. 107/15, afiellan WuH. 132/20, awendan AlfH. ii, 540/15, WuH. 245/5, begietan Or. 112/8, 152/5, behofian AlfGr. 125/11, 126/3, betaecan AlfH. ii, 578/22, bringan EcH. 108/19, 316/12, ciegan EcH. 356/24, clipian AlfH. i, 260/24, AlfL. 13/46, AlfB. Deut. 30/19, ge) ceosan Or. 96/10, 138/33, 256/2, 264/18, EcH. 32/24, 56/7, 416/7, Chron. 108/13, 117/2, 194/19, AlfH. i, 46/12, 210/15, 308/28, 444/5, 576/27, ii, 6/34, 54/13, 64/11, 230/32, 506/3; AlfL. 2/352, 16/147, 18/14/361, AlfB. Num. 18/1, Deut. 14/2, WuH. 107/24, VesPs. 32/2, 46/4, Cr. 36, don PC. 52/8, 120/19, 244/18, 316/23, Or. 114/29, 132/9, 134/4/32, 148/9, 154/6, BlH. 231/14/20, 237/27, Gr. 1/8)20, Andr. 26, giernan Chron. 204/12, gegripan 54/12, gehalgian EcH. 106/22, Cr. 1481, habban PC. 44/7, 120/19, 248/1, 391/29, Or. 40/7, 96/28/29, 154/29, 270/17, EcH. 56/6, 144/18, 240/15, 324/19, Chron. 64/32, 84/5, 152/5, 165/6, BlH. 113/34, 127/12, AlfH. i, 330/27, 516/32, ii, 254/1, 266/19/21, 462/6, 540/10, AlfL. 3/221, 5/261, 11/81, 15/102, Gosp. Mt. 3/9, 27/15, L. 3/8, VesPs. 44/14, AL. 29, Gr. 1/5)3, 1/12)8/20, 1/15)63, Andr. 311, Gr. 11-2/1)4/113, Gen. 407, Cr. and S. 70, 643, Cr. 758, Jul. 212, gehladan Dan. 65, gehweorfan PC. 256/8, 387/24, lætan AlfL. 23/319, geliffæstan AlfL. 11/170, niedan Or. 130/34, niman Or. 7/12, 30/32, 52/16, 88/7, Bo. 20/7, EcH. 162/9/19, 382/16, Chron. 68/14, 118/6, 125/1, 169/35, 194/26, AlfH. ii, 452/34, 522/32, 544/20, AlfB. Ex. 6/7, Job. 10/9, WuH. 45/5, Gr. 1/14)3/147, Cr. 223, Guth. 713, onfon EcH. 228/30, Chron. 24/17, AlfL. 4/24, 6/78, geridan Chron. 116/36, secan PC. 305/4, Or. 228/13, 242/32, Chron. 62/25, 104/22, 109/29, 108/20/28, AlfB. Jud. 96, WuH. 245/7, sellan BR. 103/21, AlfH. i, 328/3, geseon Cr. 1106, 1269, (ge) settan Or. 144/32, 210/26, Chron. 139/2, AlfH. ii, 68/3, 120/13,

Beo. 1243, strienan Gen. 1118, (ge)teon (facere) Dan. 204, 208, 216, teon (=draw) Or. 244/31, 276/24, EcH. 238/31, tobregdan Andr. 160. toþreatian Jul. 54, underfon AlfH. ii, 98/34, AlfL. 4/14, WuH. 294/26, weorþian AlfH. ii, 492/20, gewinan Chron. 224/26, gewyrcean EcH. 46/3, AlfH. ii, 464/33, AlfB. Ex. 32/19, macian AlfL. 10/89, WuH. 107/3.

(3) The Refl. Dat. with prepositions. The Refl. Dat. is governed by certain prepositions and prepositional adverbs in phrases which usually denote some adverbial relation of space between subject and predicate (and draf hine ætforan him, AlfH. ii 180/22). When introduced by *betweonan*, *mid on*, and *to*, these phrases occur with some frequency; with other prepositions they are rare. The order is (1) Prep. + Refl. Dat., (2) Refl. Dat. + Prep., (3) Refl. Dat. Prep. adv. The following list gives the prepositions with the verbs they modify (number of occurrences in parenthesis) *æfter*, behealdan (1), læfan (1): *ætforan*, asendan (1), drifan (1), sendan (4), seon (1): *be*, cweðan (1), geþencan (1), wenan (1)—noun (3): *beæftan*, habban (1), lætan (2), forlætan (3): *beeastan*, habban (2): *beforan*, drifan (1), niman (1), seon (3): *benorðan*, habban (2): *bewestan*, habban (2): *betweonan* is used chiefly to express a reciprocal relation (a) in collocations denoting an exchange of words or ideas, cweðan (24), rædan (2), reccean (1), seegan (1), spreca (15), smeagan (5), þehtian (1), þancan (6), spæce habban (1)—(b) in collocations denoting a state of peace or hostility, gefeohtan (2), flitan (3), lufian (7), sacian (2), geþwærian (1), ðwyrian (1), winnan (23), wiðrian (1), ungeþwære, eaðnode, etc., wesan (17), andan, sibbe, etc., beniman (1), fæstnian (2), habban (14), healdan (5), upahebban (3), uparæran (1)—(c) and with, don (1), belæwan (1), cyssan (1), geleornian (1), murenian (1), untreowsian (1), treowian (1), wesan nyðbehefe (1), wifian (1), wundrian (2), niman (1), sellan (2), sendan (1), aweran (1), underfon (1). It is used reflexively with—arædan (1), beran (2), dæln (5), diernan (1), don (2), ferian (2), gehealdan (1), geseon (1), weorpan (1): *for*, gescyldan (1), sellan (1), noun (1): *fore*, todælan (1): *from*, (a)ccorfan (2), a)cierran (2), a)don (4), a)drifan (4); afyrrian (2), a)lætan (3), aspynan (1), sweorþan (8): *mid*, a)teon (2), begietan (1), beran (4), bringan (9), ferian (3), forlædan



(1), gegripan (1), habban (40), geheddan (2), lædan (19), lætan (4), niman (12), onfon (1), tredan (1), geseon (2), smean (1), geweman (1)—noun (2): *of*, acennan (1), aweorpan (1), wearpan up (1), þurst adrinean (1): *ofer*, habban (1), niman (2), getimbrian (1): *on*, becnyttan (1), adon (1), habban (43), geheopian (1), onenawan (1), ongritan (1), teon (2): *onbutan* geseon (1): *oninnan* gediglian (1), gadrian (1), habban (4), gehealdan (2), secan (1): *ongemang*, habban (1): *to*, alædan (1), a)spanan (9), gebigan (6), geciegan (3), clipian (23), gefittian (1), forlætan (1), hatan (11), gelangian (4), geladian (5), geloccian (2), geniedan (5), ge)niman (6), gesamian (1), gesettan (2), ge)teon (18), underfon (1), wilnian (1): *toforan*, sendan (1): *togeanes*, geseon (1): *toward*, geseon (2): *under*, findan (1), habban (2), geseon (1), gesettan (4): *wið*, onælan (1): *wiðæftan*, læfan (1).

(C) *The Reflexive Accusative.* (1) Any transitive verb whose activity may be exerted by the subject upon itself, may take a Refl. Acc. as direct object. There are 195 verbs in our texts used with the Refl. Acc., the greater number occurring only once or twice. The verbal compounds with *be-* are especially noticeable for their number (*beseon*, *beþencan*, etc.); and for their frequency of occurrence:—*ætiewan* (26), *a-*, *on-hebban* (42), *astrecan* (43), *ge)biddan* (see note, p. 25) (152), *æðmedan* (26), *gadrian* (15), *(on-)* *gyrdan* (12), *gehealdan* (30), *hydan* (6), *gemengan* (10), *gereordian* (15), *restan* (41), *samnian* (5), *gescrydan* (7), *gescyldan* (also Dat.) (14), *swutelian* (5), *todælan* (5), *getrymian* (8), *geþiedan* (25), *warnian* (also with Dat.) (43), *wendan* (18). The Refl. Acc. occurs in a reciprocal sense with *gertan* AlfB. Ex. 18/7, *lufian* Gosp. J. 15/12/17, *ge)metan* Or. 128/2, 144/35, 232/6, Bo. 63/10, EcH. 386/2, AlfL. 30/369, *secan* Chron. 188/28, *geseon* EcH. 372/3. Grimm (*Gram.* iv, 38) considers *restan* and *wendan* medial verbs with a pleonastic Refl. Acc. They are, rather, transitive verbs with a direct object in Ags. *Wendan*, as a verb of motion, is intransitive and takes a Refl. Dat. *Restan*, like *hydan*, etc., becomes an intransitive reflexive verb (see *Sweet's New English Gram.*, 1, § 254) in modern English.

The Acc. forms of the first and second person occur with about the same frequency as for the personal pronoun, more often in the

poetry than the prose. The normal order is verb + Refl. Acc. less frequently Refl. Acc. + verb, rarely verb Refl. Acc. or Refl. Acc. verb. It frequently follows the *subject pronoun* immediately.

(2) The Refl. Acc. with prepositions is rare, occurring only with *beforan* (5), *behindan* (2), *betweoh* (2), *for* (3), *mid* (14), *on* (2), *ongean* (3), *wið* (7), *ðurh* (7), *ymbe* (2), *ymbutan* (4). The order is always Prep. + Refl. Acc.

II. *Self as a definite and emphatic Adjective.* *Self* has two uses in Ags. as an adjective. (1) It is combined with the demonstratives *se, seo, þæt, þes, þios, þis*, to form an emphatic definite modifier of a noun, and is equivalent to the Latin *idem*, English *same, very*. (2) It is used in the preposed position as intensifier of a noun or pronoun and is equivalent to the Lat. *ipse*, Eng. *himself*, etc.

(a) *The Definite Use of Self*.¹ *Self* with the demonstrative forms an emphatic definite modifier of a noun—(1) pointing backward, when the noun modified has been previously expressed or implied; (2) pointing forward, when the noun is followed by a restrictive relative clause. It is *always* declined like a weak adjective, and preserves the order *Demon. + Selfa + noun*. The noun modified is usually one of *time, place, or person*.

(1) Swilce he in pære ceastre stænenne *cirican* getimbrede In pære seolfan *cirican* Sc. Paulinus (EcH. 144/6), EcH. 93/6, 128/1, 170/15, 174/11, 182/23, 202/9, 210/29, 322/14, 338/31, 368/23, 384/2, 432/2, 452/28, 460/1, 476/21 (time); 144/6, 228/23, 232/18, 340/1/11, 434/29 (place); 198/14, 228/28, 250/7, 356/23 (person); 76/18, 82/7/29, 86/23, 88/10, 94/17, 136/15, 376/17, 406/21, 432/4; Chron. (Land. Ms.) 177/13, 182/1, 193/15 (time); 33/32, 122/18, 123/31/36, 25/537, 256/31/32 (place); 130/6 (person); 227/19: BIH. 171/16, 247/10; BR. 6/23, 41/5, 43/1, 59/8 (time); 4/8, 101/15, 125/17, 126/18, 127/2, 130/6, 136/20, 137/23 (person); 20/17, 26/17, 42/26,

¹ This use of *self* is rare in Alfred and Alfric, being supplanted by *ilca- op þa beorgan þa mon Alps het*. To *þæm ilcan beorgan liega* Or. 16/13.

44/5, 60/6, 62/18, AlfH. i 588/35, ii 124/11, AlfL. 8/193, AlfB. Ex. 4/18, 19/2; WuH. 13/3, 153/14; Gosp. J. 11/6—*þæt sylfe* is used absolutely to repeat a previously expressed word or idea. PC. 322/21, 326/14; EcH. 264/8, 346/4, 362/21, 370/4, 466/11, 474/9; Chron. 184/5, BR. 46/20, AlfL. 23/276/443/643; Gosp. Mt. 7/12.

(2) and in *þære seolfan stowe þære cirican þær hio wilnade*, bebyrged wæs (EcH. 176/8), PC. 76/15; EcH. 114/10, 168/2, 286/7, 302/32, 360/19, 176/8 (time); 178/6, 184/2/4, 284/22, 364/26 (place); 38/18, 50/18, 200/25, 330/22, 380/29 (person); 136/16; BR. 46/9, 60/15, AlfH. ii 104/3; AlfL. 32/441; WuH. 23/8; 20/3, 101/5, 192/11; 90/7, 124/5, 189/13, 172/9, 175/24; Gosp. L. 6/38—the Demon. + *sylfa* followed by a relative clause is used substantively to refer to persons—EcH. 68/12, 202/19, 334/7; BR. 124/16, AlfL. 23/193; WuH. 38/17, 301/12.

There are three cases of *pæm sylfum* + Noun (Masc. dsq.), EcH. 26/21; BR. 47/8; WuH. 13/6—to be considered ungrammatical confusions of the definite and emphatic constructions.

(b) *The Emphatic Use of self*. Self modifies a noun or pronoun to render it emphatic (= Lat. *ipse*, Eng. *himself*, etc.). The noun modified is, with few exceptions, an expression for the Deity (God, Crist, Drihten, etc.), a superhuman personage (heahengel, deofol, etc.), or a person of exalted rank (cyning, eorl, David, Petrus, etc.). Differences of construction and word-order differentiate the Nominative and oblique cases, the singular and plural of the Nominative, and the use with nouns and pronouns.

(1) The Nominative. The position of *self* with regard to its noun or pronoun gives five types of word-order. The normal order is the juxtaposed with 707 occurrences out of a total of 890.

(a) *sio micle Babilon pe ic self atimbrede* (PC. 38/17).

(β) *fordpæm ic hit no self nauht ne ondræde* (Bo. 47/5).

(γ) *Se Ebreisca cwæð, sylf ic swelte þonne* (AlfL. 12/591).

(δ) *he ægðer fleah ge þa dead ge þa sagena eac self sæde pæt*
(Or. 106/33).

(ε) *se ne mæg nan fyr of heofenum asendan seþe on heofenum sylf cunan ne mot* (AlfH. ii 452/4).

(5) Swa wæs Beowulf, pa *he* biorgas weard

Sohte, searoniðas : *seolfa* no cude,

purh hwæt . . . (Beo. 3068), *poetical*.

There are 135 occurrences of (β). The intervening word is usually a pronoun or verb. The other types are rare.

The Nominative singular is both weak and strong, the usage varying with the texts. The Orosius, Boethius, and Pastoral Care, and all of Alfric's works have only *self* with a pronoun while *selfa* occurs only twice with a noun—PC. 26/6, 50/21. Both occur in the other texts. Except for a few cases of *self* and *selfa*, the Nominative plural is regularly strong (*selfe*). *The regular construction for West-Saxon prose is self (strong decl.), following its noun or pronoun immediately (a) or separated from it by an intervening pronoun or verb (β).*

a. Noun + *self* (sg.)—: PC. (11) (Number of occurrences in (—). References are given for the texts in which the usage varies and where the occurrences are rare): Or. (3); Bo. (5); AlfH. (48), AlfL. (29), AlfB. (12); EcH. 18/23, 86/33, 154/35, 368/10 (4); Chron. (L. Ms.) 187/3; BlH. 61/27, 41/4, 51/6, 161/19, 49/21, 81/5, 217/6, 221/30 (8); BR. 80/19, 64/1 (2); WuH. 19/1, 20/16, 25/8, 66/1/3, 151/32, 177/12, 202/20, 269/29, 280/23, 286/14, 90/5, 151/29, 189/12, 206/1/13, 216/8, 222/17, 224/11, 226/2, 290/20, 10/10, 13/3, 52/21, 58/20, 66/10/20, 130/14, 134/6, 154/14, 198/4, 261/12, 54/9, 83/20, 191/20, 200/7, 79/10, (37)—Poetry (15).

Noun + *selfa* (sg.)—PC. (2)—EcH. 100/25, 158/20, (2); BlH. 39/12, 45/20, 57/3, 59/1, 75/36, 109/7, 17/32, 39/23, 131/14, 165/2, 167/18, 95/29, 109/15, 163/31, 181/12/36 (16); WuH. 27/14, 219/15, 222/18, 222/2, 45/1, 75/15, 85/20, 96/23, 143/10, 154/2, 273/25, 83/16, (12)—Poetry (21).

Pronoun + *self* (sg.)—PC. (22); Or. (25); Bo. (15); AlfH. (109), AlfL. (67), AlfB. (12)—EcH. 4/27/31, 8/24, 370/16, 382/33 (5); Chron. (Ms. C.D.E.) 39/18, 119/22, 140/11, 188/19, 193/3, 196/8, 204/22, 212/20, 215/18, 216/3, 216/13, 229/24, 204/13, (13); BlH. 67/16, 101/14, 13/13, (3); BR. 60/13, 72/12, 80/19, 101/6, 103/12, 119/23, (6); WuH. 190/19, 296/29, 3/9/20, 15/10, 17/2/11, 18/2/15, 22/19, 34/8, 85/2, 103/6, 108/7, 178/9,

181/17, 193/24, 202/21, 206/5, 213/26, 271/12, 280/4, 288/9, 291/23, 299/21, 301/12, 308/8, 38/17, 110/5, 271/20, (30); Gosp. L. 24/39, 6/42, J. 8/9, (3); Gosp. Gl. Linds. L. 24/39, J. 14/44, Mt. 4/4, (Reference to page and line of Introd.) 8/1/11, J. 3/11, 5/9, 3/5, Mt. 3/6,—R. Mt. 1/21, 3/4, J. 18/1, Mt. 12/48, (13)—OES. 448/3, (Kentish Charter)—Poetry (12).

Pronoun + *selfa* (sg.)—EcH. 136/28, 442/9, 444/7, 66/18, 96/34, 120/22, 124/20, 138/15, 158/16, 188/14, 208/32, 296/5, 380/11, 436/6, 444/16, 468/22, 472/6, 476/3, 284/7, (19); BIH. 175/27, 13/26, 95/5, 103/30, 119/28, 135/13, 165/32, 215/24, (8); BR. 19/6; OES. 442/12, (Kentish Charter)—Poetry (19).

Noun + *selfe* (pl.)—Or. (2); Gosp. J. (1)—Poetry (1).

Pron. + *selfe* (pl.)—PC. (15); Or. (10); Bo. (2); EcH. (2); Chron. (2); BIH. (1); AlfH. (17), AlfL. (9) AlfB. (7); WuH. (7); Gosp. (4); Gosp. Gl. R' (1)—Poetry (4).

Noun + *self* (pl.)—Or. 42/23, 144/32 (Ms. C. *selfe*).

Pron. + *self* (pl.) (See Or. 20/1, 236/24, Guth. 113 (?))—PC. 190/18, 449/23; Or. 116/25, (Ms. C. *Selfe*); EcH. 4/17; Chron. (Ms. E.) 135/29, 137/17; AlfB. Gen. 47/27; Gosp. Gl. Linds. L.1 1/46.

Pron. + *selfa* (pl.)—AlfL. 3/219, 5/84, 4/289; Gosp. Gl. Lind. R2. L. 22/71; Linds. J. 4/42; Linds. R2. L. 11/46.

β. Noun *self*—PC. (1); BIH. (2); AlfH. (1), AlfL. (1); WuH. (5)—Poetry (1).

Pron. *self*—PC. (10); Or. (9); Bo. (6); BIH. (3); BR. (1); AlfH. (6); AlfL. (8); AlfB. (3); WuH. (4); Gosp. (1)—Poetry (20).

Pron. *selfa*—EcH. 76/7, 466/23—Poetry (19).

Pron. *selfe* (pl.)—Prose (19)—Poetry (5).

γ. *self* + Noun—Poetry (8). *selfa* + Noun—Poetry (6). *self* Noun (3).

self + Pron. AlfL. 12/591—Poetry (2)—*selfe* + Pron. (pl.) WuH. 4/9; Gosp. L. 22/71.

δ. Pron. and (coördinate clause) . . *self(e)*—PC. 336/16; Or. 106/33, 116/27, 134/13, 208/34, 216/16, AlfH. ii, 8/34, 146/3; AlfL. 26/74; PC. 228/17—Poetry (8)—. . . *selfa* EcH. 326/8; BIH. 163/33.

ð¹ is confined to the poetry (11).

ε. Relative particle self:—AlfH. ii, 452/4; AlfL. 24/95; AlfB. Job 7/4; WuH. 28/6— . . . selfe (pl.) AlfH. ii, 106/18; WuH. 287/23— selfa EcH. 242/11; BlH. 167/6; Gosp. Mt. 27/57, Mk. 15/43, L. 23/51.

(2) The oblique cases—self modifies a noun or personal pronoun in the Gen. Dat. and Acc. cases. It is *always* declined strong (-on as the Dat. inflection occurs once in AlfL. 23/33, and several times in the Gospels). With four exceptions (Bo. 5/34, PC. 112/10, Or. 170/10, Bo. 100/27) with pronouns, it always follows the word modified immediately.

se Moyses wæs godes *sylfes* gespeca (WuH. 13/5).

his word þe his æt his *selfes* muðe gehyrdon (BlH. 119/12).

III. *The Compound Reflexive.* The compound reflexive is a specialized use of the pronoun emphasized by *self*. The reflexive pronoun in any of the categories studied above may be made emphatic by addition of the emphatic modifier *self*. Its use is determined by rhetorical or stylistic reasons and not from grammatical necessity. Self is always declined strong. In the prose it follows its pronoun immediately, except PC. 463/34, AlfL. 23b/131, WuH. 56/5, 107/25. In the poetry there is great freedom of position.

Besides its use with the reflexive pronoun in the categories given above, there are occurrences of the emphatic Genitive reflexive with nouns.

a) *The Genitive with nouns.* This construction is relatively frequent in the poetry, less so in the early West-Saxon prose, and has almost disappeared in the late West-Saxon, occurring only once in Alfrie and twice in Wulfstan. The construction with *agen* has driven it out. In its rare use with the pronouns of the first and second person, the construction is unsettled.

(1) Swa swa of *minre sylfre* cyþeþe ic gewitan mihte EcH. 480/21).

¹ The definite use of *self* and the weak *selfa* of the Nom. singular are dialectic or stylistic characteristics of the EcH. which hold it apart from the Pc., Or., and Bo. (See Miller—EETS. 95 Introd.).

- (2) Ic þis giedd wrece bi me ful geomorre
minre sylfre sið (Gr. 1/10) 2).
- (3) Ic þe, mære god,
 mine sawle bebeode 7 *mines sylfes* lic (Gr. II 2/1) 4/5).
- (4) gif þu nu hæfde fulne anweald *þines sylfes* (Bo. 25/22).
- (5) þu forleosest þin rice 7 *þines selfes* feorh (BIH. 185/1),
- (6) þe þu
 þurh *þines sylfes* geweald secan woldest (Gr. 111/14) 127).
- (7) þæt þu þa frofre folcum cyðe, *þinre sylfre* sunu (Cr. 339).
- (8) Gesweatula nu þurh searocræft *þin sylfes* weare (Cr. 9).
- (9) 7 usic þonne gesece þurh *þin sylfes* gong (Cr. 254).
- (10) þurh þa we farlætað ðone anweald *ure selfra* (PC. 220/7).
- (11) þa earfeðu þe we for his synnum and *ure sylfre* siððan
 drugen (WuH. 1/4).
- (12) Hu we sind geswencte þurh *ure sylfra* gewill (Cr. 362).

The Gen. of the Refl. pronoun with *self* agreeing occurs in 8–12; the Gen. of *self* with the possessive adj. agreeing with it in 2–7; the possessive adj. agreeing with its noun and *sylf* agreeing with the noun also in (1). (Compare on *minne sylfes* dom, Beo. 2148.)

b) *The reflexive genitive* occurs as the object of the verbs forgietan PC. 34/7, 36/20; gieman AlfH. ii, 158/29; gehelpan Bo. 30/12, WuH. 39/15, 40/24, 94/14, 129/13, 150/15, 155/29, 275/19, 302/3, 305/8; ortruwian AlfH. i, 530/9; pleon PC. 228/20; reccan AlfL. 12/122; gescamian PC. 332/22; tilian AlfH. i, 242/1; wealdean PC. 220/5—and the adj. orwene AlfH. i, 414/21.

c) *The Reflexive Dative.* The compound form occurs in all the categories, except with verbs of motion and quiet. It changes the unemphatic pleonastic Refl. Dat. to an emphatic indirect object, expressing the 'for'—relation—ðæt hie her *him* gearnigen ðæcean hælo (PC. 246/12), contrasted with—hie gearwiaþ *deoflum* eardnuge and *him selfum* ece wite (BIH. 77/7). It occurs with: andwyrðan PC. 4/21; gebeorgan Chron. 184/1; AlfH. i, 418/34, ii, 36/3, AlfL. 23/526, 25/93, BIH. 63/24; WuH. 115/15, 150/11, 166/2, 190/10, 268/10, 269/18, 304/9; ætbregdan AlfH. i, 360/14; bedieglan AlfH. i, 408/17; cwellan PC. 449/20; deman PC.

198/25, 415/7, 429/5; derian AlfH. i, 390/10, WuH. 34/18, 55/5; don PC. 387/29, Or. 166/21, EcH. 304/15, AlfH. i, 180/21, AlfL. 19/172, WuH. 113/12, 119/11/16, 209/8, 299/28, 303/7; dreogan PC. 346/19; geeacnian AlfL. 13/298; estan WuH. 140/17; faestan PC. 316/3; forgiefan AlfH. ii, 366/19; fremian BR. 132/5, AlfH. ii, 458/11, AlfL. 7/206, WuH. 120/7, 280/1; hearneian WuH. 34/14; helpian BlH. 223/2, WuH. 155/28; libban BlH. 165/22; AlfH. i, 180/19, ii, 74/8, AlfL. 18/40; leogan PC. 10/12, 54/14/23, 280/3, 288/7, WuH. 66/3; lician PC. 208/14; gemetgian Bo. 139/1; mislician H. 436/26; AlfH. i, 512/35; ofteon PC. 314/22, AlfH. 180/12; olecean PC. 463/9, sellan Char. 41/37; styrian AlfL. 17/22; tellan PC. 78/1; BR. 132/4; truwian PC. 208/6, 305/14; þencan PC. 112/9/12/16/18, 202/20, 306/8, Bo. 66/12; ðingian AlfH. ii, 320/21; witan PC. 206/19—with: ærendian WuH. 136/14; geagnian WuH. 193/18; gebiddan AlfH. i, 244/13; geceosan H. 358/24; geearnian BlH. 95/34, 101/25, WuH. 282/19, 283/21; facian Or. 152/8; fon Chron. 161/2; foresceawian AlfH. ii, 60/30; fordician PC. 383/22; gegearsian Chron. 181/22, AlfH. i, 404/3; gearwian BlH. 77/7; goldhordian AlfH. ii, 104/23, WuH. 286/25; habban BlH. 215/14; gehealdan EcH. 294/22, AlfH. i, 398/31, 580/9, AlfL. 31/54; niman EcH. 182/7; nytan WuH. 240/18; mynnan WuH. 125/26; onælan AlfH. i, 594/28; ondrædan PC. 158/16, AlfL. 21/311, WuH. 138/21; gesettan EcH. 90/17, AlfL. 7/289; gestriean BR. 54/18, AlfH. i, 278/16, ii, 46/13, Gosp. L. 12/21; tilian Bo. 69/10, BR. 4/5; teolan AlfH. i, 412/14, ii, 76/32; getimbrian Ech. 282/11, AlfH. i, 518/29; underþridan Or. 284/5; wanian AlfL. 11/223; wenan WuH. 174/8; willan PC. 158/19; wilnian PC. 54/2, 76/26; gewyrcean Or. 82/2, BlH. 5/26, WuH. 171/24, 173/25; wyscan AlfL. 28/116; etan PC. 316/2; drencan PC. 316/3; wesian PC. 54/2, 134/26, 144/13, Or. 220/11, Bo. 45/31, BlH. 45/15, AlfH. ii, 148/33; weorþan Or. 260/3, WuH. 49/10; estan WuH. 190/17; ahebban BlH. 115/30—with prepositional phrases to þearfe, lofe, etc. PC. 38/18, 323/3, 364/9, 387/29, 463/34, EcH. 304/15, Chron. 68/26, 131/30, BR. 101/21, AlfH. i, 180/21, 492/20, 538/22, ii, 62/35, 68/12, 432/32, 550/34, AlfL. prol. /71, 13/86/181/297, 18/40,

23/391, AlfB. Gen. 23/9/19, Jud. epil. 263/11, WuH. 44/21, 50/3, 56/5, 73/15, 74/21, 107/25, 113/7, 119/16, 143/14, 153/13, 180/13/17, 268/12, 299/28, 307/15/20, 310/19, Gosp. Mt. 23/31—with adjectives bryce H. 358/26; ungelic PC. 306/16: ungeþwære Bo. 134/29.

d) *The Reflexive Accusative.* Any reflexive object of a transitive verb may be made emphatic by addition of *self*—He *hiene* geeaðmedde to þaem folce (Or. 112/32)—contrasted with þaet se healica god *hine sylfne* swa geeaðmette (AlfL. 16/114). There are 217 verbs with which the emphatic reflexive occurs. The emphasis is never demanded by the verb itself, but is rhetorical—except with one class, verbs of bodily harm *acwellan*, *ahon* etc., which always take the compound reflexive.

e) The compound Reflexive Dat. and Acc. has the same range with prepositions as the simple reflexive—the addition of *self* depending as usual upon the emphasis thrown upon the pronoun—þeah se halga wer ealne middaneard *ætforan him* gesawe (AlfH. ii 186/10)—with, he bið swa micele wlitega *ætforan Godes gesihðe* swa he swiðor *ætforan him sylfum* eadmodre bið (AlfH. i 514/2).

f) The absolute use of *self* as reflexive. There are occurrences in the poetry of the omission of the reflexive pronoun before *self*, especially when it is a Genitive modifier of certain nouns. *This omission is a poetic license and not a substantival use of self:*

þe he usic on herge geceas
to þis sum sidfate *sylfes* willum (Beo. 2640).

Genitive with nouns:—Beo. 701, 896, 2225, 2361, 2640, 2711, 2777, 3014; Andr. 1300, 1440; Ele. 1206; Gen. 59, 566, 842, 1915; Cr. 1484, 1242; Guth. 53; Jul. 99.

Dative with prepositional phrase:

þe þu mid lehrum hafast
ofslegen synlese *sylfum to seonde* (Cr. 1480).

Accusative with (1) verb, (2) preposition.

- (1) This þegnum
soð sigora frea *seolfne* geywde (Ele. 488).

- (2) *Gesat þa wið sylfne, se þa saecce genaes,
mæg wið mæge* (Beo. 1978).

IV. *The Reflexive Dative and the Nominative Self(a).*

There are a number of cases in which the simple Refl. Dat. and the Nominative *self(a)* occur in the same clause. When in the juxtaposed order (*him self(a)*), it has been taken as the origin of the Mod. Eng. intensifier *himself*. (See Introduction, p. 5.)

The conclusion is here reached that in *Anglo-Saxon the pronoun is still felt as a Refl. Dat., self as emphasizing the Nom. noun or pronoun, with no consciousness of the two forming a compound.*

Anglo-Saxon to 1000 A. D. is a stable language in which the grammatical forms and the syntax are firmly established. It has been shown above that there are hundreds of examples of *self, selfa* as an emphatic modifier of a Nom. noun or pronoun; that the pleonastic Refl. Dat. is a recognized construction with certain categories of verbs, and occurs freely with all writers; and that this Refl. Dat. may be rendered emphatic by the addition of *self* which agrees with it in gender, number, and case. The assumption that a rare form, violating all these usages, appears in a few instances, would require the strongest positive evidence for its acceptance. We shall see below that the Refl. Dat. in this combination occurs only with verbs of the categories established, and usually with the verbs with which it occurs alone.

The juxtaposed position in the combination is a result of the simultaneous appearance of the normal order of the two when alone. *It has been shown* (p. 20) that the normal order of the Nom. pron. and *self* is Nom. Pron. + oblique Pron. + *self* (β) when an oblique pronoun occurs in the clause; or with *self* after the verb—Nom. Pron. + verb + *self*; and (p. 14) that the normal order of the Refl. Dat. is Subject + Refl. Dat. + verb, or Subject + verb + Refl. Dat. To illustrate:

- (1) *he sylf næs on heofenum* (AlfH. i, 6/15).
- (2) *swilce he hit sylf wære* (AlfH. ii, 168/14).
- (3) *þu þe arfæst eart gewarden* (BlH. 89/2).

Combine (1) and (3) according to (2) and the result is:

- (a) *Swilce he him sylf witega wære* (AlfH. i, 514/14). Or:

(4) *he is sylf soð wisdom* (AlfH. ii, 586/26).

(5) *and wæs him anacnihtleas* (AlfL. 23/345).

Combine :

(b) *he is him sylf wisdom* (AlfH. i, 150/9).

(A) *Non-juxtaposed order*—*þe he sylf geceas him to learning enih-tum* (AlfH. i, 542/5):—Or. 100/27; AlfH. i, 150/9, 500/18, 542/5, ii, 22/26, AlfL. 23b/27; Beo. 1964; Gen. 458, 933; Cr. & S. 260; Rid. 63/3.

(B) *Juxtaposed order*—*þonne bist per þe self wædla* (Bo. 28/24).

(1) with verbs of construction (see p. 10):—*adreogan* Gr. 112/1/4/102; *anstellan* WuH. 218/28; *gierwan* Or. 42/11; *openian* AlfL. 121/38; *getimbrian*¹ EcH. 208/15; *writan*¹ Or. 164/3, AlfL. 24/102; *wyrean*¹ WuH. 236/5; *fremman* Beo. 1840; *scufan* Gen. 1564.

(2) with verbs of possession (see p. 10):—*begietan*¹ WuH. 254/21; *beran*¹ AlfH. ii, 62/23, AlfL. 6/236; *Gosp. J.* 15/4; *fon*¹ Or. 66/6; *gadrian*¹ AlfB. Ex. 5/7; *habban*¹ PC. 374/4/9, 372/24, Or. 20/1, 112/20; *Chron.* 218/27; *Gr.* 1/13, 23; *niman*¹ EcH. 50/22; *ricsian* Bo. 53/20; *sellan*¹ AlfB. Gen. 15/18; *geteon*¹ PC. 238/5; *gesettan*¹ WuH. 205/3.

(3) with verbs of knowing, etc. (see p. 12):—*foresceawian*¹ AlfB. Gen. 22/8; *leomian* O. E. S. 442/1, Gen. 1916; *nytan*¹ PC. 90/12; *onfindan* WuH. 177/6; *ongietan* Bo. 104/4, *Gr. ii*, 2/1/4/76; *þencan* WuH. 151/14, 239/26, 241/13; *wat*¹ PC. 425/10; *willan* (*nyllan*) AlfH. ii, 410/19/12.

(4) with verbs of motion (see p. 13):—*geforan* Or. 236/24; *astigan* WuH. 255/21; *cuman* *Chron.* 225/25, 244/4, AlfB. Gen. 23/18, *Cr.* 114; (a)—*feallan*¹ AlfB. *Josh.* 10/33, PC. 463/4; *feran*¹ *Chron.* 211/4, AlfH. ii, 542/23, AlfL. 7/213; *gan*¹ AlfL. 5/377, *Chron.* 156/3, *Andr.* 1348; *hwierfan*¹ PC. 467/23; *iernan*¹ *BlH.* 173/23, AlfL. 7/700, AlfB. Gen. 18/7.

(5) with verbs of bodily quiet (see p. 14):—*aslawian* PC. 461/15; *standan*¹ Or. 260/33—*wesan*¹ PC. 304/17, Bo. 304/17, *Chron.* 222/4, *BlH.* 173/32, AlfH. i, 150/9, 514/14, AlfL. 5/266, 1/63, WuH. 58/2, *Gr. ii*, 2/3) 111/37, *Ph.* 374, *Rid.* 38/8; *weorþan*¹ PC. 324/7, Bo. 49/23.

¹ Verbs which also occur with Refl. Dat. alone.

(6) with verbs of speaking and seeing (see p. 12):—*ameldian*¹ BR. 72/2; *gecyðan*¹ Bo. 47/8; *gereccan*¹ Bo. 11/8; *seegan*¹ Or. 194/21, AlfL. 11/162; *geseon*¹ WuH. 203/1, Gen. 611, Cr. 1082, 1116, Guth. 439.

(7) with indirect object:—*dugan* Beo. 1840; *gielðan* PC. 48/7; *onwendan* Gr. ii, 2/1)116; *deman* PC. 415/4.

Azarias 175—

“*nu ic þær IIII men*

sende to siðe, nales me selfa gerad:” is unintelligible.

V. *An as an Emphatic Adjective.* Parallel with the emphatic use of *self*, there is an emphatic use of *an* with nouns and pronouns. When the word modified is emphatic in contrast with something else, *self* is used; when it is emphatic to the exclusion of something else, *an* is used. The occurrences are not numerous and are found more frequently with nouns than pronouns. There is no case of its use with a reflexive pronoun intensified by *self*.

It is always weak in the Nom. sg., and may occur in the juxtaposed or non-juxtaposed order.

ðæt he ana wasige ac he sceol eac his friend wreccan (PC. 192/2).

Cuðbertus eall byinende hus ana ahredde (AlfH. ii, 140/27)

It is always strong in the oblique cases and follows the word modified immediately.

(1) with noun: *he lytel landricehæfde but on þære byrg anre* (Or. 66/15).

(2) with pers. pron.: *ðara gifa þa him god for monegra monna ðingum geaf, næs for hiera anra* (PC. 40/22); *Him to com an fiscere 7 uneaðe hiene ænne ofer brohte* (Or. 84/10).

(3) with Refl. Pron.: *ðonne he sceal ymb monegra monna are ðencean gif he nolde þa þe he moste ymb his anes* (PC. 56/22); *hafa hie ðeah þe anum* (PC. 372/6); *he pæt folc pær ute betynde 7 hiene ænne þærinne beleac* (Or. 166/22).

Summary. Anglo-Saxon regularly uses the oblique cases of the pers. pron. in the reflexive constructions. It occurs in the reflexive sense—rarely as the Genitive object of a verb; as the Dative object of a verb or adjective with an extensive use as pleonastic Refl. Dat. with verbs of construction and possession,

with verbs of the exercise of a bodily or mental function, and *ondrædan*, with verbs of bodily quiet and motion; as the accusative object of transitive verbs; and as the Dat. or Acc. object of prepositions. *Self* is an adjective modifier of nouns and pronouns and is used to give emphasis by contrast. It is always declined strong, and follows its word immediately except in the Nom. where there is freedom of position and a (probable) dialect form for the singular. It is specialized to give an emphatic compound reflexive, rare in the Genitive but frequent in the Dat. and Acc. Parallel with *self*, there is an occasional use of *an* to give emphasis by exclusion. When the Refl. Dat. and *self* occur in the same clause they are independent constructions.

The Transition Period (C. 1000—C. 1250). The texts which fall within this period are the MR. A. (Cambridge Univ. Lib. I i. 2. II. See Skeat) of the Gospels and the interlinear version of the Rule of St. Benett¹ which are dated respectively 1050 and 1020–30 by their editors. From our point of view, they are entirely upon the Anglo-Saxon basis of construction and form, but the latter exhibits the further progress of the decay of inflectional ending in *self*, which had already begun in late Anglo-Saxon (see note to p. 44).

The Acc. ending (*selfne*) persists, but the Dat. appears as a gloss to *sibi* as—him *selfum* (14), *selfan* (29) and *self* (3). The *-an* ending is not to be taken as the ending of the weak declension, but rather as a weakening of *-um*.

¹ See EETS. 90, Introd. xxxix.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH (C. 1250).

(1) *The Simple Reflexive.* The simple reflexive persists into the Middle English period in the Dat. and Acc. cases. The Gen. case has entirely disappeared, surviving only in the possessives. In the earlier texts the Acc. form survives as direct object of a verb, but soon gives way to the Dat. form, which is established as the objective case of the pronoun in both its Dat. and Acc. functions. The Dat. forms of the third person masc. sg. and the plural, and of the second person plural show many dialectic variations.

(a) *The Reflexive Dative.* The necessary Dat. is lost in two ways. With verbs which take the double construction (Dat. or Acc.) it becomes an objective case when the Dat. form prevails; otherwise it is expressed by aid of a preposition. The pleonastic Dat. persists except before prepositional phrases, where it is lost in favor of the possessive construction. It occurs only sporadically with verbs of bodily motion and quiet except in Layamon's Brut, which is still upon the Ags. basis for this construction.

The pleonastic Refl. Dat.—(1) with verbs of construction : drawn OEM.M. x/202; maken H. 241/28, Hh. 129/35, AR. 292/21, L. iii, 18/21, 262/20, G&Ex. 437, sceopen G&Ex. 1487; tilen OEM. B. 80, 118; timbren Oren 18112; weshen O. 1103, 1711; werken H. 225/15, 227/7, L. ii, 451/15, O. 11634, 14543, 15563, 15802, OEM. M. 15/129, 20/49.

(2) with verbs of possession : addlen O. d/151; ahnen L. i, 105/11, ii, 70/7; bigeten H. 29/29, L. iii, 157/22; biriden L. ii, 631/9; biwinnen L. i, 405/1, ii, 185/2, 262/16, 558/7, iii, 92/23; bringen O. 10482; bugen L. iii, 237/22; ceosen H. 227/24, 229/1, L. i, 271/9, 293/22, ii, 299/4, HM. 47/3, O. 3498, 3511, 11234, 14139, 15096, 17737, 18419, 19764, G&Ex. 543, 805, 3667; clepien H. 125/6, L. ii, 637/5; earnien H. 41/4, HM. 19/35, 21/3; findan O. 6416; geten O. 17418; jirnen L. ii, 614/20; habben

H. 106/20, O. 19852; nimen H. 27/27, 231/11, 233/6, AR. 164/3, 294/9, HM. 39/37, L. i, 226/8, 233/16, 238/5, 373/12, ii, 45/1, 188/14, 200/16, 231/12, 277/15, 316/21, 355/3, 376/4, 399/15, 408/23, 424/20, 428/22, 550/22, 579/10, iii, 21/17, 81/9, 106/15, 147/22, 148/17, 231/15/25, 259/5/16; sechen HH. 87/1/22, StJ. 10/4; sen (choose) G&Ex. 3723; setten H. 115/26; strenen O. 17140; taken StK. 480, O. 1092, 12971, 16358, 16371, 16988, G&Ex. 723; winnen L. ii, 587/1, 601/22, O. 12249.

(3) with verbs of mental (α) and bodily (β) action and a)dreden; (α) a)wrendren StK. 309, 1606, AR. 146/25, 218/6, OEM. KS. 32/24, StJ. 11/9, 37/5, StK. 377, AR. 376/27; understanden Hh. 147/23, AK. 210/9; witen O. 13581— a)dreden—H. PM. 6/124/157/163/206, 239/27, OEM. M. 20/26, 27/4, StK. 1393, AR. 178/7, 336/24, O. 151, OEM. M. 25/44, G&Ex. 2343, 3129—(β) awaken L. iii, 13/14; heren L. i, 363/21; queðen L. ii, 592/10, 593/7, segen L. ii, 544/18, 545/10/14, 411/12, iii, 13/24, 63/19, OEM. B. 210; speken L. i, 173/1, ii, 87/2, 395/2, 628/15, iii, 22/15, 68/1, 205/7, 271/10, OEM. PofL. 203; seon L. ii, 395/18, iii, 174/15—gon and slæpen L. iii, 214/20; sweten L. iii, 229/1.

(4) with verbs of motion and quiet—(α) atwenden L. ii, 338/12; bicomen L. ii, 478/11; comen L. i, 70/18, 211/18, ii, 392/20, iii, 99/16, 251/2, 262/6, O. 1710, OEM. PofL. 174, 177, 393; faren H. 25/3, L. ii, 550/17, iii, 51/16, O. 229; feren StM. t/k L.; 384/22, ii, 392/17, iii, 30/12; fleon L. ii, 423/11, 427/20, O. 3198, 9139; fusen, L. iii, 23/15, 131/6, 243/17; gon H. 27/21/22, L. ii, 564/24, iii, 22/23, 106/18, 202/16, 211/15, OEM. PofL. 125; leapen L. ii, 22/5, 467/4; liþen (adum) AR. 270/26 (carried over to passive *wes ilied* OEM. KL. 32/15); lipen L. ii, 359/16; iii, 6/5; ræsen L. ii, 24/9, 264/8; reos L. iii, 56/5; riðen L. ii, 395/14; risen O. 2655, 3136, OEM. M. 30/11; sizen L. ii, 418/4; swimmen H. 51/36; wenden (references only to L. where Acc. is used as direct object—elsewhere it may be Acc. *him*) L. i. 414/21, ii 4/5, 550/18, 593/9, iii 21/1, 22/19, 24/5, 127/20, 197/2, 240/3, 247/12—gon+at standan L. iii 24/22; aerenen L. ii 231/14; alihten L. iii 106/13; crepen L. iii 174/17; fusen L. iii 195/5; riden L. iii, 217/1, 292/14, 412/13, 552/7; wendan L. iii, 174/23, 250/15;

to charren L. ii, 469/9 ; to fleon L. ii, 303/10—(β) abiden L. ii, 433/3 ; atstanden L. iii, 33/8 ; liȝen L. ii, 344/13 ; sitten L. i 327/6 ; stannden L. ii, 95/14, 347/6, 623/9, iii, 126/15, 268/14, OEM. P. of L. 405 ; wunien L. iii, 187/2—wesen H. 39/9, L. ii, 408/10, 441/3, 460/5, 577/11, iii, 269/6, 285/25, OEM. P. of L. 253, B. 157, G.&Ex. 2935 ; weorpan H. PM/330, Hh. 193/18, L. i, 12/9, 183/11, 291/12, 351/10, 396/11, ii, 338/7, 354/17, iii, 216/10.

The Ags. word-order persists—

(b) *The Reflexive Accusative.* The construction and word-order remain the same as in Ags. The Acc. form survives in H., L., and part of OEM. In the other texts, the Dat. form, as with the pers. pron., has assumed the functions of the Acc., and becomes the objective case form of Middle English. *Restan* and *wendan* with other verbs which later become intransitive still retain their transitive nature.

(c) The reflexive with prepositions is still on the Ags. basis as to construction. The Dat. form occurs exclusively.

The Forms. (See Witte—Ueber das neuangelsächsische pronomen—*Eng. Stu.* II, 121 f.) The objective forms of the 2d and 3d persons plural show dialectic variations. *Me, þe, unc, ȝunne, us, him, hire* persist unchanged. *Hine* occurs as direct object of a verb in H. (4), L. (74) [II, cases of him in L. as direct object of *bepenchen* (1), *bugen* (23), *dreȝen* (6), *seilden* (1), *teon* (1)] OEM. (1), VV. (1) with *heo* L. (1) and *hi* H. (1)—The 2d and 3d plural are :—

	2nd Pers. Pl.			3rd. Pers. Pl.			
	eu (ω) (7)	ou (ω) (2)		heom (7)	ham (3)	hom (1)	
Hom. I.	eu (ω) (7)	ou (ω) (2)		heom (7)	ham (3)	hom (1)	
Lay.	" (8)			" (30)			
OEM.				" (3)			hem (2)
K. Gr. ¹		" (4)			" (10)		
A. R.		" (34)			" (13)		
H. M.		" (1)			" (12)		
Hom. II.	" (2)		giu (7)				" (13)
Orm.			guw (11)				" (49)
V & V.			gew (5)				" (8)
G. Ex.			gu (2)				" (8)

¹ Katherine Group (St. K., St. J., St. M.).

The use of the reflexive forms to express the reciprocal relation is dying out.

II. The Definite Use of Self. The definite use of *self* remains as in Ags. with the weakening of the weak inflectional endings—*a*, —*an* to —*e*, —*en* :—

a) þat erf þe þo herdes ouer wreakenen and þe selue herdes (inaccurately translated “and the herdsmen themselves” instead of “these same herdsmen”) beð þe lorþewes . . . (Hh. 39/12).

b) and ure ihesu cristi alemeð þe selve sunne þe alle oðre þing aleomeð (Hh. 109/2).

An interesting combination of *ilca* and *selfa* occurs occasionally, as :—

þe ilke selue ikesuc þat is from en ynumen (OEM. P of L./649).

III. The Emphatic Use of Self. This use of *self* undergoes violent changes during the period. The origin of the compound forms for the Nominative and the weakening and confusion of case endings will be discussed later. At the close of the period, *self* is no longer an emphatic adjective modifier of nouns and pronouns. It persists as such with nouns throughout the period though here it shows a decided tendency to follow the analogy of the pronouns. With pronouns the change is complete. The Nom. *self*, by addition of a pronominal element, becomes a compound pronoun which repeats the pronominal subject in an intensified form to render it emphatic and may be used as absolute subject. The oblique cases coalesce with their pronouns to form an emphatic compound personal pronoun. The hardening of a compound is a gradual growth and it is not possible to state definitely the date of its completion ; but during this period the compound is close enough to allow of no intervening word as in Ags.

a) *The Nominative.* The five types of Ags. order (*a*, *β*, *γ*, *δ*, *ε*, see p. 19) remain, to which are added the absolute compound subject in principal clause (*ζ*), in subordinate clause (*η*). The Ags. *self* persists in the earlier texts in *a* while the compound forms occur in the non-juxtaposed orders. The oblique form *selven* appears beside the Nom. *self*, *selve* in the compound forms.

(a) (i) forði þe *he self* cweð (quia *ipse* dicturus est) WR. 79/32.

(2) þe *he himself* behet (quam *ipse* promisit) WR. 27/1.

(3) þo *he him selven* com—HH. 187/36.

(4) Ah *ich mi seolf* neore L. i, 376/3.

(1) Pron. + self *ic* H. 119/15 : *we* L. ii, 142/7 :—þu L. i, 135/16, 312/11, 338/8, 419/5, ii, 201/9, 281/15, 296/6 : *3e* L. ii, 206/2 :—*he* H. 109/5, 117/18, 229/22 ; L. ii, 32/10, 170/1, 350/22, 432/21, 546/3, 574/11 ; WR. 79/3, 105/23 : *heo* (fem. sg.) WR. 97/11, 119/3, 121/1, 131/32 ; OEM. M. 15/426 : *heo* (pl.) L. i, 255/18, ii, 93/11/15, 101/17—(—*silfe*) WR. 99/7, (30).

(2) Pron. + Dat. (me, þe, him, hire, us, eom, heom) self. *ic* VV. 23/16, StM. 11/13, O. 12592, 16242 :—þu H. 579/5, O. 4162, 5020 :—*he* H. 95/5, 153/5, 235/5 ; L. i, 35/3, ii, 117/7, 119/13 ; VV. 33/20, 119/7 ; WR. 27/1 ; AR. 144/8, 234/17, 258/4, 292/15, 338/22, 378/4, G&Ex. 999 : *heo* (fsg.) Hh. 47/13 ; L. iii, 138/21 ; WR. 23/33, 25/15 : *heo* (pl.) WR. 25/17 ; AR. 154/5 ; (þegg) O. 18936. (30).

(3) Pron. + Dat. selven—*us* L. i, 221/19, ii, 185/18 :—*3e* O. 17952 :—*he* Hh. 183/31, 187/36 ; StK. 1139 : *tegg* O. 17860, 17886. (8).

(4) Pron. + mi self—L. i 376/3. (1).

(β). (1) Pron. . . . Dat. (me, þe, him, hire, us, eou, heom) self. *ic* H. 277/3 ; VV. 4/6 ; O. 17168 : þu StM. 16/31 ; O. 9395, 10142, 11987 : *3e* AR. 226/19 :—*he* H. 35/32, 115/16, 239/29 ; VV. 111/25, 113/5 ; Hh. 49/6 ; AR. 106/18, 160/26, 310/7, 388/28, 394/13, 396/10 ; Or. D/195, 1090, 2227, 3192, 3767, 4800, 4868, 6824, 9135, 9357, 9389, 9401, 9421, 10261, 10693, 11105, 12544, 13934, 17002, 18448, 18931, 19071, 19249, 19529 : *heo* (fsg.) H. 157/3, WR. 119/1, StK. 1567, O. 8685 : *heo* (pl.) AR. 212/12. (49).

(2) Pron. . . . Dat. selve *we* H. 11/11 : *he* Hh. 21/34 ; L. ii 28/23, iii 115/20. (4).

(3) Pron. . . . Dat. selven—*3e* H. 35/21, VV. 93/23 :—*he* AR. 340/3, 388/16, OrM. B/644. (5).

(4) Pron. . . . þi self—L. ii 329/12, OEM. P. of L. 350. (2).

(γ). (1) Dat. self + Pron. *ic* L. i, 136/15 :—*he* H. PM. /184 ; L. i, 27/2, 169/18, iii, 189/8, ii, 261/20, 433/14. (7).

(2) Dat. selve + Pron. *we* L. i, 141/1/3. (2).

(3) Dat. selven + Pron. *he* L. iii, 249/22 GEx. 2889. (2).

(4) *mi*, *þi* self + Pron. *ic*. L. i, 361/17, ii, 290/18, 466/8, 526/8, 568/9, iii, 120/11, 127/6, i, 34/13, AR. 318/11 : *þu* L. iii, 249/22 ; OrM. P. of L. /350. (11).

(δ). (1) Pron. . . . and Dat. self. *ic* AR. 28/18 :—*þu* O. 1252, 1306 :—*he* H. 235/26, L. i, 19/18, 93/17, 225/18, 340/11, iii, 524/22, iii, 31/10, 116/2, VV. 37/16, Hh. 51/23, StJ. 7/6, StK. 1083, AR. 154/20, 390/16, O. 1079, 4548, 10816, 11252, 14500, 19307, OEM. P. of L. 232, 246 : *heo* (fsg.) WR. 21/14.

(2) selve—L. iii, 133/6.

(3) selven *we* L. iii, 89/8 :—*þu* StK. 634 : *3e* Hh. 115/19, L. i, 247/16, *heo* (fsg.) Hh. 147/18 : *heo* (pl.) L. i, 257/15, iii, 92/14, Hh. 137/35, 139/25, 179/11, VV. 65/15.

(4) *mi*, *þi* self. *ic* L. ii, 518/11 : OEM. P. of L. 350. (40).

(ε). (1) Relative + Dat. self. *þu* StK. 2378 ; *he* H. 9/35, 147/20, VV. 117/34 : *heo* (pl.) H. Pm. /225—(2)—Dat. selve, *he* Hh. 31/12—(3)—Dat. selven O. 14944. [7].

(ζ). *Wa se seið he beo hal. him self wat best his smirte* H. PM. /114.

(1) Dat. self (*he*) Hh. 185/34, L. i, 38/17, ii, 44/4 : *heo* (fsg.) AR. 380/19 : (2) *him selve* WR. 21/8. (3) *us selven* HL. 193/19. [7].

(η). *i hesu crist hit acorede also him self seið* HL. 45/1, (1) *him self* L. ii, 130/10, iii, 208/20, Hh. 45/1, 61/12, 87/29, 121/13, 153/24, O. 4227, 16877, 16903, (pl.) L. i, 223/18, (2) *him selve* OEM. P of L. 47, (3) *him selven* Hh. 111/9, 191/2, OEM. KS. 32/31, (4) *þi seolf* StK. 22/2, R. 124/16.

There are three occurrences of *þe self* (O. 4666, 12789, 13585) with an imperative with unexpressed subject.

(b) *The oblique cases.* It seems from the unviolated juxtaposed order of the elements, the loss of meaning of the case endings (self, selve, selven), and the occurrence of the *mi*, *þi* forms that the pers. pron. + adjective modifier of Ags. has become an emphatic compound pronoun. It occurs as direct object (a) and object of a preposition (b). The forms are :

	SELFNE.	SELVNE.	SELVAN.	SELVE.	SELF.
me { ^a b	L. (1). L. (1).	W. (2); L. (5). H. (2); L. (4). H. (1); L. (4). H. (1); L. (3); O. (2).		L. (2). WR. (2), L. (1). L. (1). L. (3). WR. (2).	St.M. (1). H. (2). L. (1). AR. (4), HM. (1). Hh. (1), AR. (1).
þe { ^a b		W. (1); A. R. (1); O. (2). L. (4), Or. (6), A. R. (1), Hh. (3), St. J. (1), Hm. (1). O. (1). Hh. (1), St. K. (1).			
hine { ^a him	L. (1).				
him { ^a b					
hire { ^a b					
us { ^a b					
eoū { ^a b		L. (1), AR. (6), Hm. (1). St. K. (1), O. (1), AR. (1). Hh. (1), L. (1). St. J. (1), K. (1). R. (3), L. (3), O. (1).	H. (1), St. J. (1).	H. (2). L. (1).	St. J. (1).
heom { ^a b					St. J. (1), HM. (1).
	3	68	2	14	14

þi self occurs AR. 180/7 and *hire selfre* WR. 97/2, and the peculiar form *heomen sylfum* WR. 107/21.

(c) *Self with Nouns.* The non-juxtaposed *self* in the Nom. is always compounded. The juxtaposed is about equally divided between the adjective and the compound. In the oblique cases the compound form occurs only 3 times (O. 8770, 11211, 18633) out of forty examples. In the Nom. *self* is usual, in the oblique cases *selve*, *selven*.

A construction peculiar to L. is the inversion of *self* when the noun is preceded by a possessive :—

Eune sune he hafde

by *seolvan his quene* (L. 110/18).

IV. *The Compound Reflexive.* The construction has undergone some modifications. The compound Gen. as Gen. modifier of nouns and as Gen. object of verbs has disappeared. It occurs in its Dat. uses, but in a much more limited range than in Ags., the Dat. relation being expressed now more frequently by a preposition. The Acc. use as direct object of a verb is, in comparison with the simple reflexive, relatively greater than in Ags. With prepositions, the usage has been extended to embrace the older Dat. uses.

As an emphatic *Refl. Dat. of interest* it occurs with *makien* (L. ii, 63/17, Hh. 45/5, 237/2) and *timbrien* (L. i, 282/14), and with prepositional phrases with *on* (L. ii, 589/22) and *to* (H. 123/28, L. i, 14/10, 275/17, Hh. 95/16, 121/25, 183/31). The forms *hine selfne* (H. (3), L. (3)) and *hine selve* (L. (6)) occur sporadically in H. and regularly in L. as direct object of a verb. Elsewhere the Dat. of the pronoun (*him*, etc.) is generalized as an objective case with confusion of the inflectional ending of *self*. It is probable that the combination is now felt as a more or less close compound where the consciousness of pronoun + adjective modifier is lost (see p. 22).

The WR. (see Introd., p. 2) stands close to the Ags. in its preservation of forms. The Dat. Fem. occurs 6 times as *hyre sylfre*, 3 times as *hyre sylfe*, and once as *hyre sylfen*. The Dat. elsewhere occurs as —selve(n), The Acc. Fem. sg. and pl. is *hy selve*.

NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES OF THE COMPOUND REFLEXIVE.

		Hom. I.	Lay.	O. E. M.	Hom. II.	St. J.	St. K.	St. M.	A. R.	H. M.	Orm.	V. & V.	G. & Ex.	Total.
me	self	1						1						2
mi		2								4	2		1	9
þe		2							4					6
þi		3						1	1					4
us		5				1	2	1	19		1			6
eou							1		3					28
him						1		3	1	1			1	5
hire		2												7
heom														2
hine														
		15				2	3	5	33	6	3		2	69
me	selven	2	2		2	1			1		3	2		13
mi		1												1
þe		9	1			3	1	3			31	23	1	72
þi			1						3					4
us		4			2			5	7		3	3		17
eou		2					1	1				6		17
him		8	14	1	40	3	5		26	3	54	19	2	175
hire			1		2	2		1	11	2	2			21
heom		2	6		12		2	5	11		8	14	1	61
hine			3											3
heo (f. sg.)					1									1
		28	28	1	59	9	9	10	64	5	101	67	4	385
us	selve	2	1	1										4
eou			1	1										2
him		13	6	7										26
heom		1	1											2
hine		3	6	1	1									10
heo				2										1
þi														2
		19	15	11	2									47
hine	selfne	3	3											6
me		1												1
		4	3											7
		66	46	12	61	11	12	15	97	11	104	67	6	508

V. *Ane* (one) as a noun and pronoun modifier. With nouns it remains as in Ags. with weakening of the inflectional endings to *ane*.

Drihten hit *one* wat (AR. 160/22).

Be mann ne lenedt noht he bread *ane* (VV. 89/3).

With pronouns the situation is more complicated. It no longer modifies the oblique cases of the simple reflexive parallel to *self*, but modifies the compound reflexive—

þat he had newe imaked to *him sealf one* (OEM. PofL. /512).

In the Nom., the usage is irregular—

(1) Sy *he ana* wuniende (WR. 65/22).

(2) *ðu* scoldest *ane* speken (VV. 147/23).

(3) *þa heo hire ane* were (StK. 177).

(4) *þær he* wass *himm ane* (O. 11748).

(6) gif *he* ware *all (h)one* (VV. 123/18).

(7) and *he* cunne lettres,

lokke *him self one*

hu he scalle . . . (OEM. x1/70).

(8) *þonne heo* was nine—in onliche stude, *ae hire one* (AR. 180/22).

(9) *Ich* am *myself al one* (OEM. 4/31).

(10) *Ich* hyne vecche wille *al my seolf on* (OEM. PofL. 574).

(11) ant gomenin *bi ham ane* (StM. 14/1).

These are all efforts to replace the Ags. construction with *ana* in non-juxtaposed position. With the decay of endings we find *ane* (one) representing all cases, and dependant upon position to determine its relation to another word. The only variation which occurs in our texts with any regularity is the development parallel to *self* in similar circumstances, i. e., (3) and (4) above. The occurrences are: Pron. . . —(*me, þe him*, etc.), *ane* StJ. 22/7/8, 30/10; StK. 2265; R. 152/16, 156/17/18, 160/17/22, 252/10/17; HM. 39/39; L. iii, 3/11; O. 822, 1025, 1685, 1699, 3194, 3204, 9135, 9145, 11748, 11754: Pron. + —(*me þe him*, etc.) *ane* StM. 16/8, H. 271/34, StJ. 78/12, StK. 177.

VI. *The B-text of Layamon's Brut*. This text, which is a copy of text A about fifty years later, is, from the point of view

of this study, a modernization of the original, which gives the usage of its period (c. 1250). It changes the original in four particulars. The Acc. forms *hine*, —*selfne* have disappeared in favor of the new objective. The juxtaposed Nom. *self* is changed to the compound *himself*. All the occurrences of *me*, *þe* + *self* (*selve*, *selven*) in the Nom. and oblique cases are changed to *mi*—, *þi*. Finally *selven* loses its final —*n*, becoming *selve*.

Summary. At the end of this period the three cases of the Ags. simple reflexive have been generalized to one objective case with the Dat. form, which is used extensively as direct object of verbs and object of prepositions and occasionally as pleonastic reflexive Dat. with verbs of constructing and possessing, —*Self* as an adjective modifier has been displaced by a compound form except with nouns where it persists partially. In the oblique cases it has coalesced with the personal and reflexive pronouns to form a compound emphatic pronoun, and has lost largely its case-distinctions by weakening of the endings. It occurs as *self*, *selve*, *selfen* in all constructions. *Ane* is no longer felt as a parallel construction to *self*. It is wavering as to its development, but shows signs of developing a compound in the Nom. similar to that of *self*.

CHAPTER III.

CONCLUSIONS REACHED.

I. *Development of Forms.* It has been pointed out in the Introduction that the theories hitherto offered as to the development of the compound forms are inadequate to account for the phenomena which the texts here studied exhibit. The three phases of the question to which our study has brought us are the development of the Dative pronominal element in the compound pronoun used as an intensifier of the Nom.; the development of the *mi-*, *þi-* element of the first and second person singular in the compound pronoun in all its uses; and the appearance of the three forms of the second element of the compound (*self*, *selve*, *selven*) with no distinction of case.

(a) *The pronominal Dat. + self in the Nom.* Three theories have been advanced to account for the pronominal Dat. element of the compound (see Introd.). These are (1) influence of the French *luimeme*; (2) the influence of the oblique cases; (3) the hardening to a compound of the pleonastic Refl. Dat. + *self* with verbs of motion in consequence of the loss of feeling for the Refl. Dat. in this construction. These may be answered in order from the facts established.

(1) The form appears in texts which show no French influence and are too early for it. The Whitney version of the Rule of St. Benet is the most notable example of this (See Schröer, Introd.).

(2) It occurs before the Dat. forms have been generalized for the oblique cases (L. H. W., etc.) In the earlier and more grammatical texts, it does not carry the oblique ending *-en* with it. A parallel development is seen with *ane* where no compound oblique forms exist.

(3) It has been shown (p. 26) that the Ags. combination Refl. Dat. + *self* was the result of the word-order of the two occurring simultaneously, and that each was an independent construction.

The compound Nom. occurs while the pleonastic Refl. Dat. is still an active construction with verbs of motion (in L. especially). It shows no disposition to occur more freely or earlier with the categories of verbs established for the Refl. Dat.

*The significant facts of the development are that self persists in the juxtaposed position later than it does in the non-juxtaposed, and that *ane* develops a parallel compound form.*

It has been shown that the L. A-text and the WR. stand nearer to the Ags. basis than the other texts in their retention of the Acc. forms and ending (*hine, selfne*) and the L. in the use of the Refl. Dat. Comparing the Ags. usages of the Nom. *self* (p. 19) with the Middle English (p. 33) we find that these two texts stand upon the Ags. basis when the *juxtaposed* word-order (a) prevails, upon the Middle English when the *non-juxtaposed* prevails. That the compound arose first when *self* was separated from its noun or pronoun, and was extended to the cases where it was not separated, is a legitimate conclusion. The reason for this is not far to seek. In all other cases, *self* is joined immediately to the word it modifies—

he self sægde—

he cwealde hine selfne

he seah God selfne, etc.

BUT *he wæs self þær.*

This held for Ags. where case endings were sufficient to show relation; but when these endings weakened, and position was necessary to show relation, and under the influence of the vastly greater number of occurrences of the juxtaposed *self*, the non-juxtaposed *self* of the Nom. lost its power of standing alone. Similar conditions held for *ane*. It became necessary then to repeat the subject as a reinforcement to *self*. It was repeated in a disjunctive form (identical with the pronominal part of the oblique compound) an office not far removed from the use of the Refl. Dat. The first element of the compound is, therefore, a *disjunctive pronominal reinforcement*. The preponderance of the *me-, þe-* forms of the first and second person singular in these early texts shows that this was the first step in the development for all persons and numbers. As shown by a comparison of the texts, it probably began

in the North and extended South and West. Its confusion with the oblique compound soon occurs.

(b) *The mi-, þi- element in the compound.* Three theories have been advanced to account for the possessive element in the Modern English compound, only the last of which takes into consideration the earlier occurrence of the *mi-*, *þi-* forms (see Introd.). These are (1) that they arise from the emphatic Genitive *min selves*, etc.; (2) that they arise from the substantive use of *self*; and (3) that *mi-*, *þi-* were at first a variant spelling of *me-*, *þe-*.

(1) It has been shown that the emphatic Genitive of the first and second person is of very rare occurrence in Ags., and is a construction which is on the wane, almost disappearing in Alfrie and Wulfstan. It is further a very unsettled construction, and it is not possible to consider it the source of the possessive forms.

(2) The evidence for a substantive use of *self* is very slight. Mätzner (Gram. II, p. 11) cites one example: and hafdon ealles geweald ge *heora agenes sylfes* on eallum þingum (S. Basil, p. 24). To this may be added the absolute use of *self* in the poetry, and the cases where the possessive agrees with *self* in the Gen. after a noun (see pp. 25 and 22), both of which have been answered. This one occurrence cannot be taken as indicating a general use of *self* as substantive. This view is rejected, however, because it explains neither the fact that the *mi-*, *þi-* forms occur at least a century before the possessive is found in the plural nor the reason why there is a difference in the first and second persons, and the third person.

(3) The last view approaches the truth, though it is too vague to be accepted as stated.

The facts are that the *mi-*, *þi-* forms occur throughout the period (1150–1250) beside the Dat. forms in all other cases, *i. e.*, the possessive forms do not occur in the plural till over a century later and never in the third person except in sporadic cases of analogy much later.

They do not occur at all in the Ormulum or Vices and Virtues. They do occur occasionally in the other texts, thus:

Nom. *miself* (L. 11, OEM. 2, StJ. 1, AR. 1); *þiself* (L. 1, OEM. 1, AR. 1): *meself* (L. 1, H. 1, AR. 1); *þeself* (0). [18:3].

Oblique—*miself* (0); *þiself* (H. 2, AR. 4); *miselven* (H. 1);

piselven (L. 1, AR. 3): meself (H. 1); þeself (H. 4); meselve(n) (L. 13, H. 4, StJ. 1, AR. 1); þeselve(n) (L. 8, H. 11, StJ. 3). [11: 46].

In Lay. text-B the *mi*-, *þi*- forms occur exclusively.

An hypothesis which covers the conditions is that the *-i-* of *mi*, *þi* is an orthographic device to indicate the pronunciation of *me*, *þe* in an unaccented syllable (mæsêlf, see pp. 36, 38)¹ similar to the spelling *bifore*, *bipenchen* found in the texts. This pronunciation arose in the Nom., where the disjunctive pronominal element was a repetition of a subject pronoun and unemphatic. It was extended to the oblique cases, and there became identified with the unemphatic possessive on account of their similarity of sound. This is probably the condition in Lay. text-B.

This hypothesis explains the occurrence of the seeming possessive forms only in the first and second persons singular, the appearance of the *mi*, *þi* forms in the Nom. and of the *me*, *þe* forms in the oblique cases of the earlier text, the non-appearance of the *mi*, *þi* forms in Orm. and VV. (the former, from his well-known attention to pronunciation and spelling; the latter, by the fact that the writer never used *-i-* to indicate the pronunciation of *-e-* in unaccented syllables, having only *before*, *bepenchen*, etc.), and the generalization of the forms later to the oblique case.

(c) *self*, *selve*, *selven*. By reference to the tables on pages 36, 38, it will be seen that the forms *self*, *selve*, *selven* occur with all persons and numbers of the pronoun both as Nominative and oblique cases. These forms arose from the Ags. inflectional endings of the Nom., Dat., and Acc.

AGS.	became	MIDDLE ENGLISH.
Nom. Sg. self		self
“ pl. selfe	(selve)	self
Dat. Sg. M. selfum	(selfan)	selven, selve
“ “ f. selfre		selve
“ pl. selfum		selven, selve
Acc. Sg. M. selfne	(selve)	Lay. hine selfne
hine selve		

¹ In the Ags. poetry *self* always bears the accent and where possible the alliteration.

Some of the earlier texts (L., Hh., VV.) attempt to keep up the distinction between the Nom. *self* and the oblique *selve(n)*. Orm. shows a conscious striving against the use of *selfenn* in the Nom. which he must have considered incorrect, as is shown by the marginal corrections:

all he wæs *himm self* þær hidd
from “ *himm selfenn* hidd (1. 1090) and by-

For Marge & for *himm selfenn* es from- For
Marge & for *himm self* es (l. 3562.) There are 24 of the former changes and 4 of the latter.¹

But as distinction of case ending breaks down more and more, and the consciousness of a single compound form for all constructions arose, the three forms are used indiscriminately as both Nom. and oblique case.

II. *The simple and compound Reflexives.* In Ags. *self* is added to the simple reflexive to make it emphatic, while in Mod. Eng. the compound reflexive is the usual unemphatic object of verbs. There are various degrees of emphasis expressed in Ags. and Early Mid. Eng. by *self*. The strongest is by an expressed contrast:

(a) ðe ægðer ge *hi selfe* clæne gehealda ge eac oðre of hira gedwolan ahwierfað (PC. 403/21).

It is used when the subject is one which usually receives emphasis, Crist, God, etc. (see p. 40).

(b) ðætt Crist . . . *hine selfne* geeaðmedde (PC. 300/5).

When there is an implied contrast:

(c) þonne sceal he *hine selfne* . . . tælan (PC. 198/15)—rather than anybody else.

With simple emphasis on the pronoun:

(d) seðe *hine selfne* geeaðmet, se biðahafen (AlfH. ii, 412/16).

The first three ((a), (b), (c),) are characteristic of the Alfredian prose, while (d) occurs more freely in Alfric and Wulfstan. It is

¹See note to ll. 900, 1078, 1090, 1253, 1345, 4162, 4227, 4868, 5353, 7403, 8685, 9133, 9918, 11041, 11251, 11815, 14550, 16877, 16903, 17566, 19306, 19308, 19578, 19668, 3562, 3641, 11989, 17579.



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